

**HISTORY OF EDUCATION
IN GREAT BRITAIN**

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

BY

S. J. CURTIS, M.A., Ph.D.

SENIOR LECTURER IN EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

WITH A FOREWORD BY

W. R. NIBLETT, B.A., B.Litt.

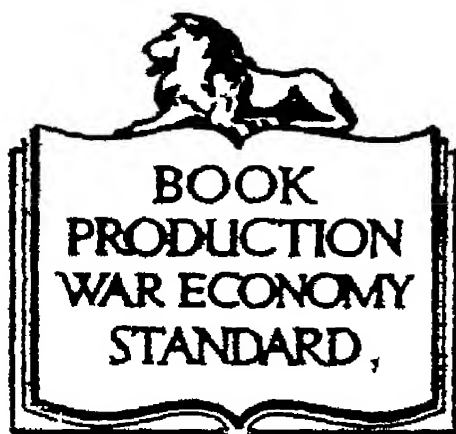
PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS



LONDON

UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL PRESS LTD.

CLIFTON HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, N.W. 1



*This book is produced in
complete conformity with the
authorised economy standards.*

Published 1948

FOREWORD

BY W. R. NIBLETT, B.A., B.LITT, Professor of Education in the
University of Leeds

WHY should we spend time in studying the long history of the educational provision made in this island? Facts about the history of education are notoriously difficult to remember and not least when an examination paper is waiting, in front of one's eyes, to be answered. The complex sequences of events, the tortuous negotiations which have preceded the carrying through of so many reforms, the changing currents of public opinion, studied in detachment, have a way of seeming unreal, boring, irrelevant. And, of course, studied in detachment (with one's eye on an examination ahead), so they are.

But the true history of education can hardly be studied in detachment. For it is a record of the provision made by our fathers for us, and by their fathers for them, back through many generations. Those apparently tortuous negotiations conceal battles of principle—battles which have their contemporary counterparts recorded in *The Times Educational Supplement*, *Hansard*, and the local Press. The history of education is the history of a gradually widening conception of what education itself is, a history still nearer its beginning than its end. Wherever we may live there are within reach of us visible embodiments of the Victorian ideas of the purpose of schools in the very architecture of the schools themselves. Our teaching to-day is guided, guarded, informed and influenced by the history of education within these shores.

In this concentrated book, filled with knowledge and hard facts—but with many things in it of direct and personal human interest—Dr. Curtis has given us plenty of clues for tracking modern issues and controversies back through the centuries to mediaeval times. The examples he draws upon in text and footnote are often northern examples and none the worse for that, whether the reader be from

the south or the north. His chapters on Education in Scotland give valuable material for work in comparative education. As he says, he has tried to show "some of the main ways in which it has both influenced, and been influenced by, events in England." There is still room for more of such two-way traffic.

As we read any history of education it is well to remember for our comfort that however defective the actual educational provision in any period, even to-day, may be, education in the broad sense was and is always taking place—through home and family life, in the contacts of field and factory, in church and market and street, as well as in schools and universities. It is well to remember, too, that what goes on in schools, and how it goes on, depends not only on the great statesmen, the strong headmasters and the ardent administrators with whose work and contribution this book is necessarily chiefly concerned, but on the creative ideas of those men and women of many nations to whose thinking about education we owe so much—the Platos and the Lockes, the Rousseaus and the Froebels, the McMillans and the Montessoris, the Bubers and the Deweys down the ages.

W. R. NIBLETT.

PREFACE

THIS book has been written to meet the needs of students in University Education Departments and Training Colleges. It will appeal also to the general reader interested in the development of education and in current problems concerning educational progress.

The origin and growth has been considered not only of schools, primary and secondary, but also of universities and other educational institutions and agencies. The important differences between the English and Scottish systems and the influence of each on the other has been considered.

The bibliography has been carefully planned to guide readers wishing to study in greater detail individual topics in which they are particularly interested.

The author would like to express his gratitude to his colleagues and friends who have assisted him in so many ways. In particular, he wishes to acknowledge the debt he owes to Professor W. R. Niblett for his kindness in contributing the Foreword and for his helpful advice and criticism when the book was in proof; to his colleague, Mrs. A. Whitehead, for permission to use the letters and prospectus on pp. 226-7, and to Miss W. F. Robson, who so kindly assisted in reading the proofs. Finally, he would like to thank his wife, not only for her help in the arduous task of checking the proofs and the index but also for the lively encouragement she gave him when he was writing the book.

Leeds, 1948.

S. J. C.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. THE SCHOOLS OF MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND	1
II. ENGLISH SCHOOLS BEFORE 1660	24
III. SECONDARY EDUCATION—1660-1805	51
IV. SCHOOL REFORM AND STATE INTERVENTION IN SECONDARY EDUCATION—1805-1895	68
V. ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN THE AGE OF PHILAN- THROPY	106
VI. FROM THE BEGINNING OF STATE INTERVENTION TO THE REVISED CODE, 1862	127
VII. FILLING THE GAPS—1870-1895	160
VIII. THE FOUNDATION OF A NATIONAL SYSTEM— 1895-1902	180
IX. EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND TO 1872	196
X. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL SYSTEM, 1902-1944	236
XI. THE OVERHAUL OF 1944 AND THE FUTURE ...	271
XII. ADULT EDUCATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION .	300
XIII. EDUCATION IN H.M. FORCES	322
XIV. UNIVERSITY EDUCATION	347
XV. EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND—1872-1947	371
BIBLIOGRAPHY	395
INDEX	401

HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

CHAPTER I

THE SCHOOLS OF MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND

English schools began with the introduction of Christianity into this land. No doubt schools existed in Roman Britain both before and after Christianity was accepted as the religion of the Empire, but all traces of them were swept away by the Anglo-Saxon invasions of the 5th and 6th centuries.

England received its Christianity through two streams, the Continental in the south-east and the Celtic in the north. As the Continental was the first, it is logical to suppose that the earliest schools were established in Kent, and in the controversy as to which is the oldest school, Canterbury or York, the evidence seems to point in favour of the former. It should, however, be noted that even at the present day, the word "school" is ambiguous. It may either refer to the building in which instruction is given to pupils, *i.e.* the school house, or it may indicate the assembly of pupils and teachers met together for the respective purposes of learning and teaching. There is a close parallel in the use of the word "church" which can be used to indicate either a body of people united by the bond of common belief and worship, or the actual building in which the worship is carried out. In modern usage, school, often, but not exclusively, emphasises the building, but in Mediaeval times the essential idea was that of a number of scholars who gathered together to listen to a master. The pupils might be adults or they might be children. The teaching might be conducted in the open air, within a monastery or a church, or even in the dwelling place of the master. The practice of setting aside a special building for the purposes of education only arose at a comparatively late period. Thus, when we refer to a school at Canterbury or York existing during the Saxon period, it must not be assumed that a particular building was earmarked to house the master and his pupils. A relic of the mediaeval usage is to be found in the term, the Honours School of a University, or the Schools of Oxford.

Augustine landed in England in 597 and after the conversion of Ethelbert, King of Kent, he was permitted to establish his episcopal see in the royal city of Canterbury. Augustine's mission was a difficult one. He was attempting to Christianise a people who, unlike the barbarian invaders of the Continent, had only the slightest acquaintance with the Roman tongue, Roman customs, and the Roman religion. Hence it was necessary for his missionaries to teach the Latin language to the native priests who were to perform the services in that tongue, and to those nobles who were to understand the new doctrines. Thus the teaching of Latin went hand in hand with the teaching of Christianity.

When the first cathedral church of Christ at Canterbury was established, it is practically certain that a school connected with it started at about the same time. The lineal descendant of this school is the King's School, Canterbury, its title referring not to the original patron, Ethelbert, but to Henry VIII who refounded it. As other sees were founded at Rochester, London, and the town of Dunwich, now swept away by the sea, similar schools on the model of Canterbury were started.

The first preaching of Christianity to the north was due to Paulinus, who was sent from Kent to convert Edwin of Northumbria and his people. The work of Paulinus was short lived. Penda, the heathen king of Mercia, with the assistance of his Welsh allies, defeated and slew Edwin at Heathfield in 633. Paulinus fled from Northumbria leaving behind James the deacon to look after the remnant of Christians. When the Christian King Oswald returned to Northumbria, Bede tells us, "when the number of the faithful increased, James acted as master to many in church, chanting after the Roman or Canterbury fashion," *i.e.* teaching the use of the Gregorian chant. Oswald had learnt his Christianity in the monastery of Iona and it was natural that he should turn to the Abbot of Iona to send a missionary to convert his subjects. The mission was undertaken by Aidan, and although Oswald was later defeated and slain by Penda, the work accomplished by the Celtic mission was of a permanent character. The reference of Bede to the work of James the deacon indicates that what in later ages was known as a Song school had been established at York.

Thus we find that from the earliest days of the Church in this country the forerunners of at least two different types of school were established. Other types came into existence at a later date, but wherever a cathedral or minster was built, there developed the

twin schools of Grammar and Song. The same is true of Scotland. The important fact, so often forgotten in modern times when the State plays such a predominant part in education, is that the English schools were the offspring of the Church, which regarded them as one of its chief instruments in Christianising and civilising the people. Hence the Church, since it provided the only organised education that existed, exercised complete control over the schools which were under the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical authorities. Until the Reformation, all schoolmasters, with very few exceptions, were clergy, and scholars were in orders, though not necessarily major orders. It is essential to grasp this point to understand the controversies of the early 19th century. When the Church of England claimed continuity with the Mediaeval Church, she also claimed to be the one body responsible for education in the country. This claim had the support of history and tradition, but those who advanced it failed to realise the changed circumstances of the time in which they lived.

The early Fathers were vehemently opposed to the training given in the grammar schools of the Empire. Their main object was to further the spread of the Christian faith and it seemed to them that the literary curriculum of the grammar schools was so bound up with pagan myth and legend as to be inimical to the new religion. They found themselves confronted with a very real practical problem. Tertullian and Origen, who had received a classical education themselves, sought to solve the difficulty by suggesting that much of the best in Greek and Roman literature had been borrowed from the sacred writings, and Augustine of Hippo openly proclaimed the legitimacy of "spoiling the Egyptians," i.e. making use of all those elements of pagan learning which were not opposed to the faith. This, however, did not represent the general outlook, especially in the West, and for a considerable period the Church was hostile to pagan learning. Even such a liberal-minded man as Gregory the Great scolded one of his French bishops, saying in a letter, "it has come to our knowledge that your brotherhood teaches grammar to certain persons; which we take all the worse as it converts what we formerly said to lamentation and mourning, since the praise of Christ cannot lie in one mouth with the praise of Jupiter."

The needs of the new kingdoms which arose out of the ruins of the Empire eventually forced the Church to reconsider the aim of education. On the one hand it was necessary to produce loyal

sons of the Church whose aim in this life was to procure the salvation of their souls in the next, but there was also the need to train the clergy to act as intelligent leaders. As the organisation of the new kingdoms grew more complex, there developed the necessity for keeping up the supply of officials. "The clerks supplied not only the chaplains, but the civil servants, secretaries, attorneys, and land stewards of the age. Domesday Book and the vast number of accounts, title-deeds, charters and the like legal documents, which still survive, were their work. Some of the feudal establishments, therefore, included a number of learned persons, or furnished the nucleus of an educated society, in the narrow sense of the phrase as used to-day."¹

For these people, as for the clergy, a knowledge of the Latin language was essential. Hence we find that the study of Latin, which sometimes included a small amount of literature, was one of the main subjects in the Mediaeval grammar schools. According to Leach, the early schools took as their model the only possible one, the grammar school of the later Roman Empire. This assertion has been denied by some writers who trace these schools back to the early Christian schools, e.g. schools for catechumens, catechetical schools, and episcopal schools.² The probability is that both influences were at work in shaping the schools and the effect of Christian tradition is seen in the importance attached to instruction in religion and morals.

It is not the purpose of this book to attempt a detailed account of English schools and scholars of the Middle Ages, but rather to draw attention to certain factors that affected the schools of later days. The existence of schools of varying types has already received mention and it will be important to consider briefly the characteristics of these different types of school.

Some writers have distinguished between the Latin schools and the vernacular schools, and have considered the former as providing a secondary and the latter an elementary type of education. This distinction is by no means an absolute one since in many so-called Latin schools a part of the teaching was in the vernacular, and in some schools which have been claimed as elementary, the pupils were taught to sing the Latin of the Church service. In any case

¹ J. W. Adamson. *A Short History of Education*, p. 13, C.U.P., 1922.

² A. W. Parry. *Education in England in the Middle Ages*, pp. 22-3, U.T.P., 1920

we must remember that the elementary school, in the meaning of the term in later ages, did not exist.

The most important distinction is that between the grammar school and other types of school. The actual term Grammar School was not in common use much before the 14th century, but the earlier schools were, for practical purposes, of the grammar type. Some of the earliest schools developed in connection with cathedrals. At first they aimed at training candidates for holy orders, but later they included many boys who were preparing for official posts or who were proceeding to the Universities with a view to entering a profession such as law or medicine.

Other schools were attached to monasteries and at first prepared novices who wished to become monks, but after a time they admitted lay youths as well. Leach¹ contends that the number of schools of monastic origin has been much exaggerated. He points out that the word Minster can only be translated into Latin by the word monastery, which in the early English period meant any large church, just as *monasterium*, or little minster, referred to any small church, even an ordinary parish church. In later times, the word minster was applied exclusively to cathedrals or collegiate churches of secular clergy, like York, Ripon, Beverley, and Southwell Minsters in the north, Lincoln and Lichfield in eastern England and the Midlands, and Wimborne Minster in the south. It would be erroneous to refer to their inmates as monks or to the schools connected with them as monastic schools.

The craft and merchant guilds of the Middle Ages, which through their apprenticeship system trained artisans and skilled craftsmen, were closely associated with the Church and paid priests to officiate for them. Frequently one of the duties of the priest was to teach Latin grammar and some of the guilds maintained large schools such as the Merchant Taylors' School. The foundation of the Grammar School of Stratford-on-Avon, where Shakespeare went to school, is closely connected with the guilds of that town. It should not be thought that the guild schools were merely vocational schools. They were similar to the grammar schools attached to cathedrals or collegiate churches. In the same way, hospitals and almshouses frequently maintained schools, some being grammar schools from the beginning and others becoming grammar schools at a later date.

¹ A. F. Leach *The Schools of Medieval England*, p. 57, Methuen, 1915.

A very large number of grammar schools originated in association with a chantry. In the later Middle Ages it became the custom for wealthy individuals to endow a chantry, which maintained one or more priests to say Masses for the repose of the founder and the souls of other specified persons. In most cases, the duties of a chantry priest involved the teaching of a school. Sometimes it was what we should now term a primary school; at other times it corresponded to a grammar school.

Whatever its origin, the grammar school provided what may be called the secondary education of the Middle Ages. Many other types of school were in existence. We have already met with the instance of the song school at York, which probably existed side by side with a grammar school from the earliest times. As a rule the song schools were quite distinct from the grammar schools, though in small foundations they were frequently housed under one roof. In such cases, the grammar master was always senior to the song master as their stipends indicate. Thus at Northallerton in 1426, the school included what may be called the three departments of grammar, song, and reading. Jesus College, Rotherham, employed a grammar master whose salary was £10, a song master who received £6 13s. 4d., and a writing master at £5 6s. 8d. The aim of the song school was to train youths who were engaged in the singing of the Church services. Chaucer in the *Prioresses Tale* describes a "litel scole" where, the Prioress tells us, the pupils learned

"... to singen and to rede

As smale children doon in hir childhede"

A small choirboy, "a widwes sone, a litel clergeon, seven yeer of age," attended this school and sat "in the scole at his prymer." He heard the older children singing the Alma Redemptoris Mater and he committed the words to memory, but he could not understand them. One of the older boys tried to explain its meaning but he could not go far because,

"I can no more expounde in this matere;

I lerne song, I can but smal grammere"

The little boy made up his mind to learn the hymn for himself.

"Though that I for my prymer shal be shent

And shal be beten thryes in an houre."

He learnt it so thoroughly that he was able to sing it "wel and boldely," and when going to school in the morning and again when coming home at night, he sang the hymn to himself.

"Twyes a day it passed thurgh his throte,
To scoleward and homward whan he wente."

Besides the song schools there were reading and writing schools and in the passage above, Chaucer is giving us a picture of a tiny boy learning his primer in a reading and writing school which was attached to a song school for older choristers.

Adamson quotes a number of instances where grammar schools of the later Middle Ages extended their teaching to younger children who were taught to read and write. Some of these small schools survived the Reformation and thus secured the continuity of primary education in this country.

The Church, through decrees of councils and episcopal charges, frequently reminded parish priests of their duty to maintain schools and teach freely all children of the parish who came to them. It is important to realise that girls as well as boys attended such "parish schools." We have no means of estimating the value of this teaching or how consistently it was carried out. One suspects that it varied greatly with individual parish priests and was often of the nature of the teaching given in a Sunday School, though probably there were some priests who taught children of their parishioners to read and write.

Some writers, e.g. S. C. Parker, *A Textbook in the History of Modern Elementary Education*, Ginn, 1912, have stressed the tardy development of vernacular schools. As we said previously, it must not be supposed that facilities for elementary education existed in England comparable to the elementary schools of the 19th century, but there is evidence that the type of school we have been considering was more widespread than has usually been acknowledged. Leach quotes a number of instances of primary schools existing at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. Three examples will illustrate this point.

1. The Guylde of the Trinitie in Barnard Castell.

"The said Guylde was founded and endowed with certen landes, by Gifte of the brethern and other benefactors of the same, of auneynt tyme, to fynde a preste to be namyd the Guylde preste, to say masse dayly at the 6th houre of the clocke in the mornynge, and to kepe a free Grammar scoole and a Songe scoole for all the children of the towne." ¹

¹ A. F. Leach. *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 61, Pt. II, "Extracts from Chantry Certificates and Warrants," Constable, 1896

2 Parish of Kingsley, Staffordshire

The chantry priest was directed "to kepe scole, and to teche pore mens children of the seid parishe grammer, and to rede and sing." ¹

3. Parish of Bromyard, Worcestershire.

"Sir John Bastenall, Incombente and scole master ther, of the age of [blank] yeres, a man of good conversacion and well lerned, which teachith chylderne, and doth brynge upe vertuously in redyng, wryttinge, and in gramer." ²

Many of the grammar schools are distinctly described as "Free Grammar Schools." Some controversy has arisen in regard to the meaning of the term "Free." One theory advanced by Dr. Kennedy Headmaster of Shrewsbury School, and submitted in 1862 to the Public Schools Commission, was that the freedom of the school simply implied that the school was free from external control whether of a cathedral or monastic chapter or of a college. This view has generally been abandoned. Another interpretation is that a Free School was a school in which a liberal, *i.e.* a freeman's, education was provided. Parry³ puts forward the view that the freedom of a school consisted in its not being restricted to any particular class of pupils, but opening its doors to all-comers. In other words, a free school was a public school. He argues that certain monastery and cathedral schools admitted only certain classes of students. Also, in certain towns and parishes the schools were open only to inhabitants of the district, and strangers or foreigners were not admitted. He quotes as an example the entry in the York Episcopal Registers of June, 1289, concerning the schools of Kinoulton which were open to parishioners only. "all other clerks and strangers whatsoever being kept out and by no means admitted to the school." According to his view the term "public" gradually became a substitute for "free" school. He concludes, "We may consequently regard the institution of 'free' grammar schools as marking a stage in the policy of breaking down the barriers which separated parish from parish, and township from township." Leach's theory is generally accepted at the present time. It does justice to the points put forward by Parry, but it interprets "free" in the literal meaning of the word. Leach holds that a "free" school meant undoubtedly a school in which, because of the

¹ A. F. Leach, *op cit*, p 200

² *Op cit.*, p 98.

³ A. W. Parry. *Education in England in the Middle Ages*, pp. 67-71, U.T.P., 1920.

endowment, all or some of the scholars, the poor, or the inhabitants of the place, or a certain number, were freed from fees for teaching. His view is well supported by numerous foundation deeds, if it is realised that entrance fees, money paid for extras, and fees contributed by pupils who were not eligible for the freedom of the school, were not incompatible with the idea of a free school. Some grammar schools were not free in the sense that fees were paid by all their pupils, and many schools which were free were not grammar schools, but provided a more elementary type of education¹

Nearly all the free grammar schools charged entrance fees which usually ranged from 1d to 1s. Sometimes boys of the neighbourhood or kinsmen of the founder were exempt from entrance fees. Occasionally, the amount of the entrance fee was graded according to the social status of the pupil, ranging from 10s. for the son of a lord to 4d. for the son of an ordinary citizen. In some schools fees were charged for light, heat, and cleaning. Thus at Guildford, 8d. a year was charged and was allotted as follows. 1d per quarter for brooms and rods, 4d at Michaelmas for providing wax candles to light the school in the dark winter mornings and evenings. Instances were not uncommon where the pupils had to bring their own wax candles (tallow candles were usually not accepted) and their contribution to the school fire.

¹ The following extracts from the foundation deeds of Yorkshire schools support Leach's view.

Keighley "The master shall instruct in the English, Latin and Greek languages free and without any reward or stipend whatever"

Guisborough "He shall keep a register of the names of all his scholars, with the day and year of their first coming and admission, taking therefore of every scholar 4d., and never after anything of duty, but if any of the parents or friends of the scholars give him anything of their free will he may take it thankfully"

Archbishop Holgate's Schools. "The master shall teach grammar—without taking any stipend, wages or other exaction of the scholars"

Heath Grammar School, Halifax "For the admission and teaching of every scholar of the town and parish of Halifax, of what condition soever, nothing shall be demanded."

Hipperholme Grammar School "To educate and instruct in grammar and other literature and learning—gratis, and without any other reward and allowance."

Thornton, Bradford. "The master shall teach the children—free of expense" Ilkley. "That all the male children within the parish shall be taught and instructed gratis."

Barnsley Grammar School "The master shall not demand any penny of them or their parents until such children shall be made fit for some university"

Tadcaster. "The master is to be skilful in grammar, and teach freely the children of the parish of Tadcaster—without exacting anything from their instruction above their voluntary benevolence or the liberality of their parents or friends."

Frequently parents made voluntary offerings to the schoolmaster for his care of their children. Needless to say, such gratuities were encouraged and set a precedent. One interesting contribution in the later Middle Ages and Elizabethan times was the "cockpenny." Cock-fighting was a widespread form of sport for boys and masters, especially in northern England. The cockpenny was a levy to provide the cocks and pay incidental expenses. The foundation deed of Manchester Grammar School forbade the masters to take any money such as "cockpenny, victor penny, potation penny." At Sedbergh, the cockpenny was transformed in the 18th and 19th centuries into an offering of £1 1s to the Headmaster and 10s. 6d. to the Usher, paid on Shrove Tuesday.

Pupils who, because they did not live in the district or through some other reason were not eligible for the freedom of the school, were termed "peregrini," foreigners, or strangers. Not only did they pay fees but their number was often limited. At Wakefield, in Tudor times, the foreigners in the master's classes were limited to 20, and those in the usher's to 10. Leeds Grammar School fixed the number of foreigners at 20, divided equally amongst the upper and lower schools, and mention of foreigners appears in the Kalendar as late as 1891. Harrow allowed the master to take as many foreigners as "the place can conveniently contain." The charter of Giggleswick emphasises that the master is "to teach indifferently (*i.e.* impartially) the poor as well as the rich, the parishioners as well as the stranger." Sedbergh, founded by Dr. Roger Lupton, Provost of Eton, made no restrictions about the number of foreigners that could be admitted, though preference was to be given to the founder's kin and boys of the district. The master was enjoined to "teche frely gramer after the maner, forme, and use of some laudable, notable, and famous scole of England, and especiall my kinsmen and theym of Sedber, Dent, and Garstall, and then all other." In those schools where foreigners were encouraged, pupils were drawn from all parts of the kingdom. It was necessary to board them and extra fees would be paid by the boarders. Thus schools like Harrow, Rugby, and Sedbergh, developed into large boarding establishments. Other schools, such as Leeds, Bradford, Manchester, and Wakefield Grammar Schools, were severely restricted in the number of foreigners they could take and developed later into large day schools with sometimes a small boarding attachment.

The phrase, "poor scholars," *pauperes et indigentes scolares*, as we find it expressed in the statutes of Winchester College, is frequently used to describe the type of pupil who attended the free grammar schools. Much controversy has raged over the meaning for the term "poor." Leach maintains that the schools were not for the very poor, the destitute, but for the relatively poor, i.e. sons of tradesmen, skilled artisans, country gentry, and yeoman farmers.

Parry takes an opposite point of view and considers that even such outstanding schools as Eton and Winchester were originally intended for "boys whose parents were poor and needy."¹ He adds, "The only condition of admission, practically, was that these boys would subsequently proceed to the universities, in order that their course of preparation for the priesthood might be completed."

Leach, dealing with the early 16th century, admits, "That occasionally bright boys were snatched up out of the ranks of the real poor and turned into clerics, to become lawyers, civil servants, bishops, is not to be doubted. But it was the middle classes, whether country or town, the younger sons of the nobility, or farmers, the lesser land-holders, the prosperous tradesmen, who created a demand for education, and furnished the occupants of Grammar Schools."²

One fact does stand out quite clearly—namely, that very few of the nobility sent their sons to be educated at the grammar schools.

As Trevelyan writes, "The sons of the nobility and gentry were educated in various ways, differing according to the rank or the personal views of their parents. Some stayed in the manor house and were taught letters by the chaplain, field sports by the forester, and the use of arms by an old retainer or a neighbour knight. More usually they were sent away from home, an English practice that seemed heartless to foreigners, but was perhaps more good than bad in its results. Some sat in the grammar schools, conning Latin cheek by jowl with the ablest sons of burghers and yeomen. Others went to smaller private schools, even then sometimes kept by a married master. Others again were boarded in monasteries under the special care of the abbot."³

Leach quotes the foundation statutes of William of Wykeham's College of Winchester, to the effect that every boy on entering took an oath, "I have nothing whereby I know I can spend beyond five

¹ A. W. Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

² A. F. Leach, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

³ G. M. Trevelyan *English Social History*, p. 76, Longmans, 1946.

marks a year," i.e. an income of £3 6s 8d. He points out that these "poor" boys were permitted to have an income greater than that enjoyed by 67 incumbents in the diocese of Winchester.

Coulton supports the view of Leach. He writes, "The constant use of the word 'poor' in foundation statutes has led modern readers very naturally to imagine that benefactors' endowments were originally intended for a class very much worse off than those who enjoy them at present. This, however, rests upon a misunderstanding of medieval common-form. By Canon Law it was strictly forbidden to transfer to secular purposes any endowment which had been given to the Church. But nearly all the endowments conferred on our colleges were of that kind. Peterhouse and Corpus Christi at Cambridge, for instance, were both founded mainly on the income of a parish church, which was served by the Fellows. It was therefore necessary for the foundation deed to emphasise the fact that the new institution was itself one of pious charity. Leach and Rashdall have both shown conclusively that foundation statutes anticipated, not a proletarian standard of scholastic life, but that of the middle, and not even of the lower middle class."¹

Montmorency states that before 1406, the year the Statute of Artificers was passed by Parliament, "the first Statute of Education," as he calls it, "the class that chiefly attended the grammar schools, whether in town or country, were the children of free, non-gentle persons."²

So far, this statement agrees with the assertion of Leach that these pupils were the sons of the relatively poor. His further argument does not seem conclusive. He agrees that in the 14th century there was no large class of destitute persons. The non-gentle population of England consisted of the free and the non-free. The latter consisted of villeins, cottagers, and the lowest social class of all, the villeins in gross, who were not only tied to the manor but could be even sold at the will of their lord. We know that the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 was a great uprising of the unfree classes and after its failure, although the restrictions of the Statute of Labourers were enforced outwardly in a stricter way than ever, yet throughout the 15th century the distinction between the free and the non-free classes tended to become less and less.

¹ G. G. Coulton. *Medieval Panorama*, p 403, C.U.P., 1938.

² J. E. G. de Montmorency. *State Intervention in English Education*, p 26, C.U.P., 1902.

One result was that even as early as 1391, children of the non-free began to make their way into the grammar schools so that they could rise in the social scale. This fact is indicated by the petition presented by the Commons to Richard II in this year, asking the King to forbid villeins sending their children to school to "learn clergie." This phrase is significant. All persons who could read Latin were deemed to be in orders (though not necessarily major orders) and could claim benefit of clergy. All clerics were freemen. The King rejected the petition and a few years later the Statute of 1406, mentioned above, proclaimed that "every man or woman of what state or condition that he be, shall be free to set their son or daughter to take learning at any school that pleaseth them within the realm."

In the 13th and 14th centuries there are numerous examples of villeins being fined for sending their sons to school without permission of their lords, and Leach quotes several instances by way of illustration. There were several reasons which moved the Commons to make their petition, amongst them being the fear that any great spread of education amongst the masses would entirely upset the existing system of land tenure by depriving them of the labour of the villeins. One thing, however, Montmorency forgets because of his legal training. The Statute of Artificers stated a principle, but that is one thing; to get the principle acted upon is quite another, especially in the Middle Ages. The Statute had removed the legal restriction under which the villeins suffered and it became possible for a labourer's son to make his way up the social ladder provided always that he was a boy of outstanding ability.

Thus the 14th century schools even in the towns, but more especially in the country, would contain a sprinkling of boys of this type, but it does not affect the contention of Leach that the bulk of the pupils of the grammar schools were from what we should now call the middle classes. The limit of 5 marks a year which applied to the foundation scholars of Winchester was an upper limit. Besides the 70 "poor" scholars the statutes provided for 10 sons of noble persons to become pupils of the college. One may trace some kind of parallel in the position as regards Free Places in secondary schools in the decade before the Second World War. Pupils awarded Free Places, or rather those who accepted the Free Places which were awarded, were rarely the destitute. The very poor found themselves unable to accept the offer of an award because they had need of the child's earnings and his keep

and other incidental expenses were more than the parents could afford. But sons of parents whose income was above a fixed amount could not benefit by the scholarship. Leach appears to be justified when he writes, "The poor whom Wykeham wished to help were, as he says, those who had means enough to send their sons to grammar schools but not enough to send them on to the universities; the younger sons of lords and squires, the landed gentry in the county, the burgesses and traders in the towns. The notion that the endowments of Winchester or any other school before Christ's Hospital, which was for foundlings and the gutter pauper, have been perverted from the patrimony of the poor into an appanage of the rich, will not bear investigation."¹ As the Fleming Report warns us, "If we wish to suggest changes in the method of entry of the Public Schools, and in particular to make this entry available to a less restricted range of society than is now the case, we must base our reasons for doing so on the present needs of the country, whose children they were founded to educate, rather than on the inevitably uncertain interpretation of phrases in use five or six hundred years ago."²

We have already mentioned that the English schools grew up in close association with the Church and that the original aim of the schools was to provide the clergy of the future. Throughout the greater part of the Middle Ages the Church exercised a close supervision through the issue of licences to teach. The schoolmaster was not necessarily in major orders and there is evidence that in some of the schools, especially in the latter part of the period, he might be a layman. The Church controlled education by confining the right of teaching to those who had been licensed to do so by the bishop or his representatives. Leach gives several examples of the attitude of the ecclesiastical authorities towards unlicensed schoolmasters. One of the best known examples is the series of disputes which distracted the district of Beverley in the early 14th century.

A certain Thomas of Brompton, Rector of Beverley Grammar School, on October 27th, 1304, cited one "Robert Dalton, clerk, unmindful of his [soul's] health" as an unlicensed schoolmaster, who kept school in a district which fell within the jurisdiction of the Minster. Walter Kelsay, clerk to the Minster chapter, warned Dalton

¹ A. F. Leach, *op cit*, pp 207-8

² *The Public Schools*, Board of Education Report, p. 9, H.M.S.O., 1944

to relinquish his school within nine days under pain of excommunication, and forbade him to teach in Beverley in the future. Evidently Dalton obeyed the decision of the chapter for the time being, but he was not the only unlicensed schoolmaster to trouble the authorities. A few months later, Stephen of Garton was warned against keeping an adulterine, *i.e.* an unlicensed school, at Kelk in the liberty of Beverley. No sooner was this case disposed of when a third clerk, Geoffrey of Sancton, summoned before the chapter for practising as a schoolmaster, turned the tables upon Thomas of Brompton by instituting an action against him. The issue of the action is not recorded in the chapter roll, but later in 1305, Geoffrey of Sancton was warned about his behaviour. He refused to give up his school, was excommunicated and then boycotted, "to avoid him and cause others to avoid him, until, excluded from common intercourse, suffused with shame he may be inclined to the grace of humility and the issue of reconciliation." Geoffrey was unable to stand against the clerical boycott and made his submission in January, 1306. A few months later, Robert Dalton's name cropped up again. He was warned once more and finally had to desist from teaching.¹

Another example of the claim to the monopoly of teaching is afforded by Gloucester Grammar School. In this case, an action was brought in the Court of Common Pleas and was heard by the Lord Chief Justice and two judges. The school at Gloucester was originally attached by Henry I, about the year 1100, to St. Oswald's collegiate church. In 1137, it was transferred to Llanthony Abbey, a house of the Augustinian Canons, a short distance out of the town. The right of patronage of the priory of Llanthony seems to have been resented by the people of Gloucester and resulted in an inquiry of 1286-87 by the bishop, who upheld the claim of the prior of Llanthony and directed other schools established in the city to be suspended. In order to confirm the right, the priory obtained a royal charter. The lawsuit of 1410 was instituted by John Hamlyn, master of the school, who sought to restrain Thomas More from teaching an unlicensed school in the city. Normally the appeal would have been made to the ecclesiastical authorities, but influenced, no doubt, by the fact that the charter had been obtained from the Crown, Hamlyn brought an action of trespass against More in the civil court. He

¹ A. F. Leach. *Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 182-3.

pleaded that owing to the competition of the rival school his emoluments had fallen off considerably and he claimed damages. The full text of the proceedings is given by Montmorency in Appendix I to his *State Intervention in English Education*. The Lord Chief Justice ruled that the act of keeping a school did not constitute an offence against the Common Law of England.¹ The law did not recognise a monopoly except in the case of the universities and the ancient schools. If an offence had been committed, it was a question for the ecclesiastical courts, and the plaintiff must seek his remedy there. Once again a principle was enunciated which was not observed in practice, for we shall see that a few years later Henry VI granted a monopoly to his royal foundation at Eton.

Perhaps the most amusing case is that of the grammar school at Canterbury in the early 13th century. In the Middle Ages, Canterbury was not a free school and tuition fees were paid until its refoundation by Henry VIII. The Rector of the school in 1321 was Ralph of Waltham. During his tenure of office, Robert de Henneye, Rector of St. Martin's outside the city walls, taught a school in his parish. This school appears to have been a reading and writing school and he was allowed to take as many pupils for elementary education as he could obtain. In addition he was permitted to teach grammar to a number of pupils who were not to exceed 13 in number. Probably the grammar pupils paid higher fees and Robert was anxious to increase the number. Ralph contended that this infringed his monopoly and he sent his usher to pay surprise visits to the rival school to count the grammar boys and report if they exceeded the permitted number. Robert seems to have got the wind of the visits for it was alleged that whenever the usher appeared, the excess pupils were concealed and produced when the visit had terminated. Ralph appealed to the Archbishop who, after holding an inquiry, confirmed that Robert was only entitled to 13 grammar boys and threatened him with excommunication if he should take more than this number.²

¹ The Lord Chief Justice in giving his decision ruled that the education of children is a spiritual matter (*le doctrine et enformation des enfants est chose espiritual*) and therefore came under the jurisdiction of the Church courts, not the civil courts. This judgment was used by the Church party in the 19th century to support the claim of the Church to exclusive control of education, but both those who employed it and those who opposed it failed to understand the real significance of the decision.

² See Woodruff and Cape, *History of the King's School, Canterbury*, pp. 28-30, Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, 1908.

A frequent cause of dispute was concerning the respective rights of the grammar school master on the one hand and the masters of the song and reading and writing schools on the other. We have already emphasised that these schools, although they gave what we should now term an elementary instruction, must not be regarded in the light of the elementary schools of the 19th century. In a great many cases they were in the nature of preparatory schools, teaching reading and writing to pupils who would afterwards enter the grammar school. At Warwick, a dispute between the respective rights of the grammar and song masters was settled by the statutes of the school. Unfortunately, the statutes are not dated and we are unable to tell if they were drawn up in 1215 or 1315. The statutes record, "For an everlasting remembrance of the matter, we, Robert of Leicester, Dean of the Collegiate church of the Blessed Mary of Warwick, with the counsel of our brethren, decree and order that the Master of the Grammar School for the time being shall devote himself diligently to the information and instruction of his scholars in grammar. . . . That all material for strife and disagreement, which we learn has hitherto arisen between the Master and Music School-master over the Donatists and little ones learning their first letters and the psalter may be put a stop to for ever, after due inquiry in the matter and with the advice of our brethren, and so that the Masters and each of them may receive their due, and that undue encroachment of scholars on one side and the other may cease for the future; we decree and direct to be inviolably observed that the present Grammar Master and his successors shall have the Donatists, and thenceforward have, keep, and teach scholars in grammar and the art of dialectic if he shall be expert in that art, while the Music Master shall keep and teach those learning their first letters, the psalter, music and song."¹ The Donatists were those pupils who were studying the *Ars Minor* of Donatus, the elementary textbook on the parts of speech. In this case the Donatists were given to the Grammar Master, and the Song Master was given those who had not begun their Donat. In other cases it was decided that some of the Donatists might be taught by other masters, as in the example previously quoted of the 13 boys at Canterbury School.

The foundation of Leeds Grammar School is typical of the large number of grammar schools which came into existence as the result of the endowment of a chantry.

¹ A. F. Leach. *History of Warwick School*, pp. 65-6, Constable, 1906

Thomas Clarell, who was Vicar of Leeds from 1430 to 1469, was buried in his own chantry in Leeds parish church. The object of the Clarell Chantry was "to pray for the soule of Kynge Edward the iijth and Quene Elizabeth, the founder's soule and all Cristen soules, and to do dyvnye service." Freehold lands worth £4 13d. 4d. per annum were acquired for the support of the chantry. The original endowment was doubled by further gifts of land and it is highly probable that some kind of school, most likely a grammar school, was taught by the chantry priest. We certainly find a reference in the will of 1496 to the "prestes, clarkes, and scolers" of Leeds. When the chantry was dissolved, the chantry priest was a certain William Sheafeld who was granted a small pension. At his death in 1552, Sheafeld left a will bequeathing the rent of certain properties, "to the use and for findinge sustentation and livinge of one honest substantial learned man to be a schoole maister to teach and instruct freely for ever all such younge schollars youthes and children as shall come and resort to him from time to time to be taught instructed and informed in such a school house as shall be founded erected and buylded by the paryshioners of the sayde towne and parishe of Leedes" He also named 12 executors to see his wishes carried out.

Another founder of the school was William Ermystead, priest, who refounded Skipton Grammar School in 1548 and Birstal Grammar School in 1556. In 1555, he set aside certain property the rent of which should go "to the finding of one prieste sufficientlie learned to teache a free gramer schole within the towne of Leeds in the Countie of Yorke for ever for all such as shall repaire thereunto without takinge of any money more or lesse for teaching of the said children or schollers savinge of one pennie of everie scholler to enter his name in the Mayster's booke yf the Scholler have a pennie and yf not to enter and continue freele withoute any paieing, whiche said prieste and his successors by the Grace of God and by my will and mynde saie Masse three daies in everie weeke in the parish church of Leeds aforesaid "

During the 13th and 14th centuries the endowment of new grammar schools continued steadily, but this development was checked by the Black Death of 1349 and the plagues of 1361 and 1367. These scourges took toll of every class of society, and the number of scholars fit to teach in the grammar schools was enormously reduced. Leach quotes several examples to illustrate the scarcity.

The mortality amongst the clergy was extremely high so that there were not sufficient clerics to fill posts in the Church and the State. The consequence was a great increase in pluralism. Thus William of Wykeham, after the plague of 1361, is reported to have obtained 16 preferments in the space of 18 months. He became, in fact, the millionaire of the 14th century. Soon after his accession to wealth, Wykeham planned the building of two colleges, New College at Oxford, and the College of St. Mary at Winchester. The latter was intended as a feeder for the former, although the two colleges were distinct foundations.

Incidentally, the Black Death had another effect in the almost complete disappearance of the French language in the schools. Up to this time, French had disputed with English as to which should become the vernacular and the latter had occupied a position of inferiority.

Wykeham's New College was founded in 1379 and Winchester College in 1382. Collegiate schools had existed long before Wykeham's time, but his college at Winchester was on a larger and grander scale than earlier ones, and became a model for subsequent foundations. Another reason for Wykeham's foundation was the growing strength of the Lollard movement. He saw that educated clergy were a necessity if the new doctrines were to be successfully met.

From Winchester, his scholars were to go to the sister foundation at Oxford to study arts, law, and philosophy. The Winchester statutes show a great development in clarity and comprehension over the statutes of earlier schools. The college was to be in charge of a warden. There were to be 70 foundation scholars, 10 fellows, three chaplains, and the same number of lay clerks, a schoolmaster, an usher, and 16 choristers. In addition to the foundation scholars, 10 sons of noblemen might become pupils of the college provided that "prejudice, loss, or scandal in no wise arise." The foundation scholars were to be elected first from the kin of the founder, then from certain parishes in which the college held property, then from the 11 southern counties, and finally from the rest of England.

Eton College was founded by Henry VI in 1440. It took Winchester as its model and its scholars were intended to pass on to King's College, Cambridge. Henry issued in 1446 a warrant in which he granted a monopoly to the Provost of Eton College and his successors. This is one of the earliest occasions on which the term

"public" was applied to a grammar school and it shows that in the beginning the public schools of to-day were not different from but had a common origin in the mediaeval grammar schools.

The terms "public" and "general" emphasised the non-local character of Eton which drew its scholars from all parts of the kingdom. This necessitated boarding in the houses of the Fellows. The boarders were known as *oppidans* in distinction from the scholars who were borne on the foundation.¹

The grammar schools of the later Middle Ages were thought of as feeders for the universities, and therefore the curriculum was designed as an introduction to university studies. Theology was considered the queen of studies to which Philosophy served as an introduction. The studies which led to the supreme study of Theology were known generally as the Seven Liberal Arts. The Arts (or sciences) were termed liberal from *liber*, free, and constituted the course of study suitable for the freeman as contrasted with the practical and mechanical arts which were learned and practised by slaves in the classical period. The conception of the Liberal Arts takes us back to Greece, at least as far as Plato, and passed over to Rome with other aspects of Greek thought. The idea was given more definite form by the late Latin writers, Augustine and Martianus Capella in the 5th century, and Boethius and Cassiodorus in the 6th. The latter two were responsible for fixing the number of the arts as seven, no doubt due to Proverbs ix, v, 1, "Wisdom builded her house, she has hewn out her seven pillars." The division into the Trivium and Quadrivium was completed by Isidore of Seville, 570-636. His *Etymologiae* was widely known to the early Middle Ages. That the Seven Liberal Arts were known quite early in England is evident from the works of Alcuin of York, 735-804.²

The subjects of the Trivium consisted of Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic (dialectic); and of the Quadrivium, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy, and Music. In the grammar schools, grammar was obviously given pride of place, though some attention was given to rhetoric and logic. Arithmetic was represented by the simple rules of calculation. The remaining studies were considered as those proper to the university.

¹ For the development of the meaning of the term "public school," see the Fleming Report (*The Public Schools*), Appendix A, H.M.S.O., 1944.

² A useful sketch of the meaning and development of the Liberal Arts is given in the Spens Report on Secondary Education, Appendix II, H.M.S.O., 1938.

As we have already stated, grammar, *i.e.* the study of Latin grammar, was for practical reasons the most important of the school subjects. Most of the teaching was oral. Manuscripts were scarce so that the usual method of teaching consisted in the teacher reading from his own manuscript and dictating notes. The textbook used in the early period was the *Ars Minor* of Donatus, a teacher who flourished at Rome in the middle of the 4th century. Donatus produced two works on grammar, the *Ars Minor* and the *Ars Major*. The latter was studied for the B.A. degree at Oxford in the 13th century. The grammar of Donatus was so widely used that the term "Donat" was employed to describe an elementary work on any subject whatever. In some schools the *Institutio de Arte Grammatica* of Priscian (6th century) was used. This book contained a large number of quotations from classical authors and was divided into 18 parts, 16 concerned with accidence and two with syntax. Later in the 12th century another competitor appeared, Alexander of Villa Dei. His book was written in crude verse and its quotations were taken from Scripture or colloquial Latin.

In the grammar schools, Latin was taught as a spoken language and for this purpose vocabulary books and readers were necessary. The former were known as Colloquies and took the form of dialogues in which words and phrases useful in everyday life were introduced. One of the best known was the Colloquy of Aelfric, a pupil of Dunstan who was abbot of Eynsham in 1005. It "gives us a very vivid picture of school at that time. To begin with, we find the rough material. The teacher asks: 'Who are you here before me?' and one pupil answers for 'us boys' (*nos pueri*). The list of pupils includes a professed monk, ploughmen, shepherds, cowherds, fishermen, fowlers, merchants, shoemakers, hunters, and bakers. We must not, of course, take this catalogue too literally; the writer's business was to bring in as many occupations as possible, in order to increase the vocabulary of his scholars. . . . Next, the book throws light upon discipline. The teacher asks, 'Are you ready to be flogged while you learn?' (*Vultis flagellari in discendo?*). The pupils answer, 'We would rather be flogged for learning's sake than be ignorant,' but they add ingratiatingly: 'We know that thou art a humane man, and wilt not beat us unless our conduct compels thee.'" ¹

¹ G. G. Coulton, *op. cit.*, p. 386

The Colloquy form became even more popular in the 16th century when the *Colloquia* of Erasmus was widely used. The actual study of classical literature was of much less importance. Alum's famous catalogue of the books in the library of York Minster is evidence that the opportunity for a study of Latin literature existed, but we have little knowledge of how far this study was undertaken by the schools.

Logic received some attention and was at first encouraged by the ecclesiastical authorities as a means of detecting heresies. After the Renaissance, when the opposition to Scholasticism was in full swing, the study of logic in schools was discouraged since it was considered to be closely allied to the doctrines and methods of the Schoolmen. Rhetoric in the schools was really a training in the art of writing letters and official documents.

So far we have been discussing the education of boys during the Mediaeval period. Was there any equivalent form of education for girls? The evidence for girls' schools is very scanty. Most girls received their training at home. Amongst the upper and middles classes it seems to have consisted in what we should now call domestic duties. Girls were trained in all that pertained to the management of the household and in various kinds of needlework, as the beautiful tapestry and embroidery of the Middle Ages testify. When young they took part in the games and field sports, such as hawking, with their brothers. There is evidence that quite a number of women of these classes were able to read and write, but the evidence that these arts were learnt at school is very slight. Adamson writes, "In the roll of the Corpus Christi Guild of Boston under the year 1404, occurs the name of Maria Mareflete, '*magistra scholarum*,' a phrase which by analogy may be rendered 'school mistress,' or, where more than one teacher is in question, 'head mistress.' Was this lady the head of an independent girls' school, or a teacher of girls, or of 'petties' in the grammar school itself? The material for an answer is not forthcoming."¹

Montmorency in a note says, "To what extent girls' schools existed must be sought for in local records. That there were many such schools there is no reason to doubt. Alfred appears to have attempted something in the way of schools for girls. The term 'schoolmistress' was in use quite early. In Dan Michel's *Ayenbite of Inwyrt*, written in the Kentish dialect in A.D. 1340, Avarice is referred to as 'The maystresse thet heth zuo greate scole thet alle

¹ J. W. Adamson. *A Short History of Education*, p. 74

guoth thrin nor to lyerni' Probably schools for girls were conducted by nuns and were thus under the control of the Church"¹

Authorities differ widely as to the distribution of schools in the Middle Ages. Leach estimates the population of England, basing it on the Poll Tax returns, as about $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions in 1377. He regards this as an over- rather than an under-estimate. He calculates that this would give 400 schools in 40 counties, or one grammar school for every 5625 people, and contrasts this proportion with that revealed by the Schools Inquiry Report of 1864, of one school to every 23,750 people.²

G. G. Coulton calculates 26,000 pupils for a population of about 5 millions at the Dissolution. He concludes that if the provision of schools in 1931 was at the mediaeval rate, "we should have only 182,000 pupils, spaced among nearly 4000 schools, whose average standard inclined rather to the elementary than to the grammar class. Yet we have in fact, according to *Whitaker's Almanack* for 1931, 1300 secondary schools with an aggregate of 200,000 boys and 180,000 girls, to which must be added 20,000 elementary schools with an attendance of 5,000,000, that is, nearly thirty times more scholars in proportion to population."³

¹ J. E. G. de Montmorency, *op cit*, p. 12

² A. F. Leach *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp. 329-31.

³ G. G. Coulton, *op cit*, p. 388

CHAPTER II

ENGLISH SCHOOLS BEFORE 1660

In the 16th century, the course of English education was profoundly influenced by the twin movements of the Renaissance and the Reformation. The influence of the Renaissance was the earlier and its effects were already being felt in English schools in the 15th century.

Leach corrects the common error that the Renaissance was due to the introduction of Greek. "Through an unfortunate misrepresentation by the self-lauding reformers of the sixteenth century, the Renaissance has in the educational sphere come to be considered as synonymous with the introduction of Greek into the curriculum of schools, and particularly with Colet's statutes for the 'newe Scole of Powles' in 1510, in which for the first time Greek was suggested as a desideratum, though not demanded as a *sine qua non*, the High Master being required to be one who knew Greek 'Yf swyche could be gotten.' . . . The revival of Greek was an effect, not the cause of the Renaissance. . . . It was not the introduction of Greek at Winchester and Eton, New College and Magdalen, and its appearance in the statutes of St. Paul's School, which made them the great schools and colleges of the day and their scholars the leading humanists of their age. On the contrary, Greek was introduced in those colleges and schools because they were the advanced institutions of the day. Because they were scholarly and literary they took to Greek. It was not Greek which made them scholarly and literary."¹

He quite correctly insists that the very term "Renaissance" is misleading. There was no rebirth of learning because learning had never died out. The old jibe of the 19th century that the Middle Ages were the Dark Ages has been answered by the work of modern scholars. The difference between the Middle Ages and the period which followed them was a difference of attitude and it may be summed up in the one word, Humanism. As he writes, "The true virtue of what is known as the Renaissance is much better expressed in the term Humanism. It is not the introduction of Greek or the imitation of Cicero, the preference for the study

¹ A. F. Leach *The Schools of Medieval England*, pp 246-8.

of grammar over dialectic, or for the details of philology instead of the niceties of logic, which constitute the Renaissance. It was the substitution of humanism for divinity, of this world for the next, as the object of living, and therefore of education, that differentiated the humanists from their predecessors. For a thousand years the attention of educated mankind had been concentrated on its latter end, or on what was feared to follow it. Not life, but death, had been the subject of culture. Not how to prepare for life but how to prepare for death was the sole object of education. The humanist's progress consisted in the adoption of the dogma, 'The noblest study of mankind is man.'"¹

It is necessary to realise that the Renaissance was a very slow and gradual movement, and we must not expect that its far-reaching effects on the English schools were developed in the course of a few years. We can trace its beginning long before the close of the Mediaeval period and its practical results in the foundation of the great collegiate schools of Winchester and Eton. The ordinary grammar schools showed little outward change in their curriculum. They remained essentially Latin schools, but gradually the aim of Latin studies became not so much an end in itself as a means towards the study of the literature of ancient Rome. Greek was introduced, but in most of the schools it took second place to Latin. One of the practical difficulties in introducing Greek was the scarcity of good Greek scholars and teachers. In a few schools, Hebrew was taught. The first appearance of Hebrew seems to have been at Archbishop Holgate's school at York in 1547, where the master was to have "understandinge in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues." The first English teacher of Greek at Oxford was William Grocyn, who taught at Magdalen in 1491. It was introduced to Eton by William Horman, who was Headmaster from 1485 to 1494, and then became Headmaster of Winchester from 1494 to 1502. There is, however, sufficient evidence to show that it was not until Greek scholars became more numerous after the middle of the 16th century that Greek studies became more widespread in the schools. Even at Eton in 1560, the teaching of Greek seems to have been left to the discretion of the master.

Perhaps a more immediate change was that produced in methods of teaching owing to the invention of printing. Books became more plentiful and the oral methods of mediaeval days gave way to written methods with greater reliance on the textbook.

¹ *Op cit.*, pp 248-9.

The effects of the Reformation were in some ways a disaster to English education. The Reformers as a whole were supporters of learning and encouraged the study of Greek as a means to the reading of the New Testament. It was the policy of the Tudor monarchs which caused the mischief. Henry VIII's breach with Rome led to the closing of the monastic schools, but the damage done was comparatively small as these schools did not represent the main stream of English education. Moreover, Henry himself was an extremely well-educated man and had a proper regard for learning. The dissolution of the chantries was far more damaging. We have already mentioned that the majority of the chantries supported a grammar school from their endowments. Henry VIII commenced the work of dissolution by the Act of 1545, but it is doubtful if more than two or three were actually dissolved by this law.

The real blow fell in 1547 when a similar Act of Edward VI completely abolished the chantries. It is quite true that in the preamble to the Act it was suggested that the endowments would be better used for education and for assisting the poor. It also stipulated that schools were only to be continued when the maintenance of a school was mentioned in the "first foundation and ordinance thereof." This meant the closure of a large number of schools both grammar and other types. Even those which were permitted to remain were very badly hit. In most cases the lands of the chantry were confiscated and the school given a fixed annual sum which, owing to the rapid fall in the value of money in Tudor times, reduced many to severe financial straits. Elementary schools maintained by chantries were unable to continue. The Government threw the responsibility for elementary education upon the clergy. Gradually elementary education fell into the hands of private individuals who were often in character and attainments unfit for the job. It was not until the 18th century, when the efforts of individuals and the philanthropic societies were turned to the education of the masses, that elementary education revived. Nevertheless, we shall see that there were a few survivors of the primary schools which ensured the continuity of elementary education.

The Tudors have often been lauded as patrons of education, and the founders of our grammar schools. To believe this is to ignore all the work which was carried out by the mediaeval schools. The more modern view, based on ample evidence, is rather that they were the destroyers of schools. "Never was a great reputation more

easily gained and less deserved than that of King Edward VI as a founder of schools. If the ordinary educated person were asked to whom our system of secondary education was mainly due, and who was the founder of most of the grammar schools on which it chiefly rests, he would answer, without hesitation, Edward VI. The magnificent foundations of Christ's Hospital and Birmingham Grammar School, and the numerous Edward VI Grammar Schools which stud the country, would rise up before his mind, and he would give the credit of them to their reputed founder. Even to those people who credit Wykeham with the foundation of our public school system in founding Winchester, and credit Henry VIII with the cathedral schools, such as the King's School, Canterbury, Edward VI still stands out as *par excellence* the founder of schools and patron saint of industrious schoolboys" ¹

There is plenty of contemporary evidence to support the modern view. Thomas Lever, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, complains about conditions in the middle years of the 16th century. Lever refers to the avowed intentions of the Acts dissolving the chantries as "the alteration, change, or amendment of the same, and converting to good and godly uses, as in erecting grammar schools, to the education of youth in virtue and godliness, the further augmenting of the universities, and better provisions for the poor and needy." This plain speaking delivered in a sermon preached to the King and the nobles in 1550 was the means of saving the chantry school of Sedbergh. The second witness is Thomas Williams, Speaker of the House of Commons, who in 1562 drew the Queen's attention to the fact, "I daresay a hundred schools want in England, which before this time had been: and if in every school there had been but an hundred scholars, yet that had been ten thousand; so that now I doubt whether there be so many learned men in England, as the number wants of these Scholars."

It is because of the number of schools bearing the name of the reigning monarch that the Tudors have been considered patrons of learning. The King's Schools (Henry VIII), and Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth's Grammar Schools, are practically all refoundations of schools which had previously existed. Moreover, it is very doubtful if the Tudor sovereigns were even the prime movers in the work of refoundation. As a rule they complied with the request of the town or district for the re-establishment of old

¹ A. F. Leach. *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 1

grammar schools. In addition, quite a number of schools were refounded by wealthy merchants or noblemen who from loyalty to the sovereign, when they had obtained a charter, applied the royal title to the revived school.

For example, the Wakefield Grammar School was granted a royal charter by Elizabeth, November 19th, 1591, as a result of a petition of the inhabitants of the town. This school was probably a revival of an older school which is mentioned as existing in 1547 in connection with the chantry at the parish church. The initial paragraph of the charter runs as follows, "Elizabeth, By the grace of God, Quene of England, Fraunce and Irelande, defender of the faithe, etc., to all men to whom thies present letters shall comme sendith greting. Bee it knowen unto you that wee at the humble sute made unto us by the Inhabitants of the Towne and parisshe of Wakefilde in our countie of Yorke for a free Grammar Scoole there to be erected and establissed for ever for the contynuall teachinge instructinge and bringing up of children and youthe in good lernynge, namlie those belonginge to the said parisshe of Wakefilde, Of our special grace certen knowledge and meere motion Wee doe will graunte and ordayne for us our heires and successors that hereafter there be and shalbe one Grammer Scoole in the saide Towne of Wakefilde which shalbe called the free Grammer Scoole of Quene Elizabeth att Wakefilde for the teachinge instructinge and bringinge up of children and youthe in Grammer and other good learnynge to contynue to that use forever."

The Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth at Horncastle, Lincolnshire, was granted Letters Patent by the Queen at the request of Lord Clinton (afterwards Earl of Lincoln) in 1599. The text of the Queen's letter makes it clear that the foundation was at the request of Lord Clinton. "The Queen to all whom it may concern etc. Health. Whereas our well beloved and faithful Counsellor and Subject Edward Fynes knight of the most noble Order of the Garter Lord Clynton and Saye and our great Admiral of England, hath humbly prayed us that we would condescend that a Grammar School be erected founded and established in the Town of Horncastle in our County of Lincoln for the good Education and Instruction of Boys and Youth there . . . we will grant and ordain that henceforth there may and shall be a Grammar School in the Town of Horncastle aforesaid which shall be called the Free Grammar School of Queen Elizabeth."

There is an amusing incident connected with the charter of Otley Grammar School, Yorks. The school was founded in 1608 as the result of the will of Thomas Cave, a chapman or travelling merchant of Wakefield, who bequeathed the sum of £250 for the purpose of founding a grammar school in the town from which his family had sprung. The charter was granted by James I in response to "the petition of certain substantial inhabitants of the Parish of Otley." In 1606, the Rev. W. Harrison, Vicar of Otley, was sent to London by the governors to ask for a foundation charter. The form of the charter had been agreed beforehand, but Harrison inserted the last phrase of the following paragraph. ". . . We do name, constitute and appoint our well beloved William Harrison, Batchelor of Arts, being a learned, honest, religious, and discreet man, to be the first and present Schoolmaster of the said Free Grammar School of Prince Henry at Otley, to *continue in the said office and place for and during his natural life.*" Evidently his honesty did not prevent him from inserting the phrase in italics himself. The governors resented this action and reported that "itt was of his own contentment, but high offence to the Parishioners." At first they thought of seeking redress in the law courts, but wiser counsels prevailed and in 1622 they persuaded Harrison to vacate his office, "for and in consideration of a certaine some of money to me in hand payde."

The foundation or re-foundation of schools by wealthy individuals was a common tendency of the latter part of Elizabeth's reign and was also noticeable during the early Stuart period. In an earlier age, these benefactors would have shown their piety and public spirit by building a church or endowing a chantry. In a changed age, they exhibited the same virtues in providing for the education of future generations. In districts where a grammar school was already in existence, such benefactors found a means of displaying their charity by enlarging foundations in their neighbourhood.

Thus Thoresby, the well-known historian of Leeds, tells us that the wealthy cloth merchant of that town, John Harrison, not only built the beautiful Jacobean Church of St. John in 1634, but provided a new school house for the grammar school in 1624. Speaking of the school, Thoresby says, "The famous Mr. Harrison removed it . . . to a pleasant Field of his own which he surrounded with a substantial Wall and then in the midst of the Quadrangle built the present Fabrick of the School."

The 16th century grammar schools, like their mediaeval counterparts, stressed the study of Latin grammar, but now the grammar was beginning to be regarded as the first stage in the acquisition of a sound knowledge of Latin. The first Latin Grammar printed in English was written by John Stanbridge, who was usher at Magdalen College School. It was a distinct improvement on the doggerel verse of Alexander of Villa Dei and the declensions and conjugations were set out in a much clearer form than in the earlier Grammars, e.g. *Amo/as/at, Amamus/atīs/ant*. Several of the larger schools adopted his Grammar. It is worthy of note that William Lily, the first High Master of St. Paul's School and the author of the celebrated Grammar which bears his name, came from Magdalen College School. The variety of Grammars published in the early 16th century caused considerable confusion in the schools, and resulted in the first definite act of State intervention in the affairs of the schools. Henry VIII, by royal proclamation, ordered Lily's Grammar to be used exclusively in all grammar schools in the realm. "We will and command and straitly charge all you schoolmasters and teachers of grammar within this realm and other our dominions, as ye intend to avoid our displeasure and have our favour, to teach and learn your scholars this English introduction here insuing, and the Latin grammar annexed to the same and none other."

The Grammar was a composite work in which Erasmus and Robertson, the Headmaster of Magdalen College School, shared. The early part of the Grammar for use with younger pupils explained the accidence in English, and later, William Haine, of Merchant Taylors' School, translated the remainder under the title of *Lily's Rules Construed*. The Grammar first appeared in 1515 and after various alterations and additions reached its final form in 1574 when it was entitled, *A Short Introduction of Grammar, generally to be used: compiled and set forth for the bringing up of all those that intend to attain the knowledge of the Latin tongue*.

Colet wrote the preface to the Grammar and in the following words the attitude of this great scholar and schoolmaster towards schoolboys is distinctly shown. "Judging that nothing may be too soft nor too familiar for little children, specially learning a tongue with them at all strange; in which little book I have left many things out on purpose, considering the tenderness and capacity of small minds. . . . Wherefore I pray you all, little babes, all little children, learn gladly this little treatise, and commend it diligently unto your memories, trusting of this beginning ye shall proceed and

grow to perfect literature, and come at the last to be great clerks. And lift up your little white hands for me, which prayeth for you to God, to whom be all honour and imperial majesty and glory” In spite of these kindly words, Lily’s Grammar caused multitudes of schoolboys tears during the next two and a half centuries¹ The Grammar treats exceptions at great length and deals with the declension of Greek forms, all of which must have made it a difficult book for beginners. Nevertheless, Lily had come to stay. In the Canons of the Church of England in 1604, its use was prescribed and one of the questions to be asked at the bishop’s visitation was concerning the use of the Grammar. Archbishop Parker, in his second visitation to the cathedral church of Canterbury, inquired of the Dean and Chapter, “Whether your schoolmasters teach any other grammar than such as is approved by the Queen’s Majesty’s Injunctions.” Lily’s Grammar was used throughout the 17th century. It was slightly revised in 1758 under the title of the *Eton Latin Grammar* and held its own until superseded in 1867 by the *Public Schools Latin Primer*.

The Grammar, however, did show certain improvements on earlier Grammars in arrangement and clarity. The declensions were better spaced and set out in clearer form than in Stanbridge’s Grammar, e.g. “The seconde is when the Gentive case singular endith in i, the Dative in o, the Accusative in um, the Vocative for the most part like the Nominative, the Ablative in o. The Nominative plural in i, the Genitive in orum, the Dative in is, the Accusative in os, the Vocative lyke the Nominative, the Ablative in is: as in example.

Hic	Vir	Singulariter	Nominat.	hic magister	Pluraliter	Nomin.	hi magistri
His	Liber		Genit	huius magistri		Ge.	horū magistrorū
Haec	Colus		Dativo	huic magistro		Dati	his magistris
Hic	Logos		Accus	hunc magistrū		Accu.	hos magistros
			Vocativo	ô magister		Vocat	ô magistri
			Abla.	ab hoc magistro		Ab	ab his magistris
Present	Singular			Amo, amas, amat			
	Plural			Amamus, amatis, amant			

Brinsley’s *Ludus Literarius or the Grammar Schoole*, published in 1612, is a mine of information about the work done in the 16th and 17th century grammar schools. Brinsley enjoyed a brilliant career as the master of the grammar school at Ashby-de-la-Zouch in Leicestershire, but was suspended from teaching about 1619 on

¹ The author’s copy of Lily’s Grammar is a leather-covered book 5½ by 3½ in. and was in use at St Bees’ Grammar School. On the flyleaf, in a copperplate schoolboy hand, under the date 1751, is written, “This work is strongly recommended for bothering a fellow’s brains”

account of his Puritan views. His book is in the form of a dialogue between two schoolmasters and was "intended for the helping of the younger sort of Teachers, and of all Schollers." When Philoponus is asked how he would ensure that boys knew their grammar he replies, "The continuall use of the booke of construing of Lillies Rules, by causing them to learne to construe, and to keepe their Grammar rules, onely by the helpe of those translations." A large part of the book is taken up by showing the best way of teaching the rules of Lily's Grammar, but Brinsley tells us a good deal about the other Latin work of the grammar school.

The study of grammar was closely bound up with the making of vocabularies. Each day, the master dictated a list of words which the pupils learnt by heart. These were tested and revised frequently so that the pupils quickly acquired a store of Latin words and phrases. The Colloques mentioned in the previous chapter were very popular. The *Colloquia* of Erasmus, 1516, was widely used and later the *Exercitatio Linguae Latinae* of Vives, 1539, found favour in many English schools. The latter was translated by Foster Watson in 1908 under the title of *Tudor Schoolboy Life*.

All this work was preparatory to the reading of Latin authors. Cicero was the most highly esteemed and Virgil, Terence, and Ovid, followed next. Caesar and Livy were read, but were not considered elementary texts as nowadays. Certain mediaeval Christian writers, and even contemporary works, were often included. Almost as important as construing a Latin author was the writing of a composition. This took the form of writing short simple sentences in the junior classes, but with the older pupils Ascham's method was much used. This was to turn a passage from a Latin author into English and then, after several days' interval, to rewrite it in Latin. The master would then compare it with the original. At a later stage, the pupil was called upon to write Latin letters modelled upon Cicero. Brinsley gives examples of the way in which letter writing was taught. Finally, the pupils encountered the most difficult exercise of all, Latin verse composition. A large number of these verse exercises are still extant (including the youthful efforts of Edward VI), and some show the traits to which the young authors were put. When their Latin gave out, they often intercalated English words.

Latin was taught as a living language and in many schools, in order to gain fluency, pupils spoke Latin all the time in class and at

meals. Severe penalties threatened those who lapsed into English. Brinsley suggests the appointment of two prefects in each form to prevent the speaking of English. He admits that speaking Latin on all occasions is "exceeding hard," and "one will wink at another if they be out of the master's hearing"

Greek, as was previously said, was second in importance to Latin, and the methods of teaching the language were similar to those employed in Latin, though less intensive. When the teaching of Greek became more common in the latter half of the 16th century, pupils read the Gospel of St. John and Nowell's *Greek Catechism*, construing both books into Latin. Few schools proceeded to the reading of Greek classical authors. We hear that Westminster was famous for its Hebrew and even experimented in introducing Arabic.

History and geography were taught incidentally in connection with the authors read. The only other subjects were writing and arithmetic and a little geometry and astronomy to the higher forms. The grammar schools were inclined to shy at the teaching of reading and writing. These were considered subjects for the "petties," *i.e.* the little ones in the primary or the preparatory school. Every boy was supposed to be able to read and write¹ when he entered the grammar school, though in practice it was often necessary to teach these arts to pupils. Brinsley believed in giving an hour's practice each day in writing, preferably at one o'clock, "when their hands are warmest and nimblest." Some grammar schools sent their pupils, after morning or afternoon school, to a writing master. As this was not usually possible for country schools, writing was often taught by a travelling teacher, who spent several weeks at each school. Arithmetic was of much less importance, and since the teaching was either at the end of the day or on a half-holiday, it was not popular with the pupils nor with the usher who had to teach it. Brinsley, in his *Grammar Schoole*, shows us the shortcomings of the average grammar school pupil with regard to arithmetic. He writes, "You shal have schollers, almost readie to go to the Universitie, who yet can hardly tell you the number of Pages, Sections, Chapters, or other divisions in their bookes, to finde what they should. And it is, as you say, a great & foule want; because, without the perfect knowledge of these numbers,

¹ Cf. Wakefield Grammar School "None shall be admitted to be taught as scholars in this school, upon what pretext soever, unless he be able in tolerable sort to read English and be promoted to the accidence . . . and because this school is not ordained for petties but for grammarians, we will that all the scholars under the master's teaching shall be tied to the speaking of Latin."

TIME TABLE OF A TYPICAL ELIZABETHAN GRAMMAR SCHOOL, 1598

(*Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. VII, pp. 262-3)

Classes III, IV, and V were taught by the master, Classes I and II by the usher In winter the school closed at 4 p.m.

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
Class V. 7-11 a.m.	Prose theme. Lecture in Cicero or Sallust or Caesar's <i>Commentaries</i> .	Verse theme. Lecture same as Monday.	Prose theme. Lecture in Virgil or Ovid <i>Metamorphosis</i> , or Lucan	Lecture in Virgil, etc., same as Wednesday	Verse theme. Repetition of the week's lectures	Examination in lecture of previous afternoon.
1-5 p.m.	Latin Syntax or Greek Grammar or Figures of <i>Syzenbrote</i> . ¹ Home lessons and exercises given out and prepared	Latin Syntax, etc., same as Monday.	Latin Syntax, etc., same as Monday.	Half Holiday.	Repetition continued. Lecture on Horace, or Lucan, or Seneca's <i>Tragedies</i>	Declamation on a given subject by several senior scholars. Catechism and New Testament.
Class IV. 7-11 a.m.	Lecture on Cicero de <i>Senectute</i> or de <i>Amicitia</i> , or on Justin ²	Lecture on Cicero, etc., as on Monday.	Lecture on Ovid <i>Tristia</i> , or de <i>Ponto</i> , or on Seneca's <i>Tragedies</i> .	Lecture, etc., as on Wednesday.	Verse theme, and repetition of the week's lectures.	Examination in lecture of previous afternoon.
1-5 p.m.	Prose theme. Latin Syntax or Greek Grammar or Figures of <i>Syzenbrote</i> Home lessons and exercises given out and prepared	Verse theme. Latin Syntax, etc., as on Monday	Prose theme. Latin Syntax, etc., as on Monday	Half Holiday.	Repetition continued. Lecture on Ovid's <i>Fasti</i> .	Catechism and New Testament.

Class III 7-11 a.m.	Lecture on the letters of Ascham, or Sturm's <i>Cicero's Letters</i> , ¹ or Terence. Paraphrase of a sentence.	Lecture on Ascham, etc., as on Monday. <i>Vulgaria</i> in Prose	Lectures on Palen- genius, or the Psalms of Hess Paraphrase of a sentence.	Lecture on Palen- genius or the Psalms of Hess	<i>Vulgaria</i> in Prose, and repetition of the week's lectures	Examination in lecture of previous afternoon.
1-5 p.m.	Latin Syntax, or Greek Grammar, or Figures of Syenbrote. Home lessons and exercises given out and prepared.	Latin Syntax, etc., as on Monday.	Latin Syntax, etc., as on Monday.	Half Holiday.	Repetition con- tinued. Lecture on Eras- mus' <i>Apophthegms</i>	Catechism and New Testament
Class II. 7-11 a.m.	Lecture on Colloquies of Erasmus or on Dia- logues of Corderius.	Lecture, etc, same as on Monday.	Lecture on the Cato senior, or Cato junior.	Lecture, etc, same as on Wednesday.	Repetition of the week's lectures	Examination in lecture of previous afternoon
1-5 p.m.	Translations from English into Latin. Home lessons and exercises given out and prepared	Translations as on Mondays.	Translations as on Mondays	Half Holiday.	Repetition con- tinued Lecture on <i>Æsop's Fables</i> .	Writing out the Catechism in English. Arithmetic.
Class I. 7-11 a.m.	The Royal Grammar	The Royal Gram- mar.	The Royal Gram- mar.	The Royal Gram- mar.	Repetition of the work of the week.	Examination in lecture of previous afternoon
1-5 p.m.	The English Testa- ment, or the Psalms of David, in English.	As on Monday.	As on Monday.	Half Holiday.	Repetition con- tinued Lecture on <i>Æsop's Fables</i> .	Writing out the Catechism in English. Arithmetic.

¹ J. Susebrotus, a German, who died in 1543, wrote an epitome of Rhetoric in 1540.

² Justinian's Institutes.

³ Sturm published a selection of Cicero's Epistles. He was Rector of the school at Strasbourg.

schollers cannot helpe themselves by the Indices, or Tables of such bookes, as they should use, for turning to anything of a sodaine.”¹

We have to remember that when Brinsley wrote, most pages and chapters were numbered with the Roman numerals. The Arabic notation, although gaining popularity on the Continent in the 15th century, did not come into use in England until the following century. The first authentic use of the Arabic notation is said to be at St. Andrew's at the close of the 15th century. Brinsley considers that it is quite easy to teach the Roman notation and he suggests a method of doing it. He also refers to the Arabic notation, calling it “the numbers by Figures” in contrast to “the numbers by letters,” and he explains the principles of the decimal system. He thinks the understanding of these two notations is sufficient for the average pupil. “In a word, to tell what any of these numbers stand for, or how to set downe any of them; will performe fully so much as is needfull for your ordinarie Grammar scholler. If you do require more for any, you must seeke Record's Arithmetique, or other like Author's and set them to the Cyphering school.”²

Dr. Robert Recorde, to whom Brinsley refers, was a Tenby physician who had graduated at Cambridge. He is said to have been physician to Edward VI and Mary. He wrote four books on arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and astronomy, called respectively, *The Ground of Artes*, *The Whetstone of Witte*, *The Pathway to Knowledge*, and *The Castle of Knowledge*. Recorde was the first English writer to introduce the common symbols for equality, addition, subtraction, and multiplication, and he explains the sign of equality as “a pair of paraleles or gemowe (twin) lines of one length, thus, =, because noe 2 thynges can be more equalle.” He deals with two kinds of arithmetic, pen arithmetic and arithmetic carried out with counters. The former is the type of arithmetic with which we are familiar, but counter arithmetic was a means of reckoning numbers which could be learnt by those who could neither read nor write.³ It was by means of counters that the ordinary tradesman kept his accounts. Pen arithmetic was usually known as ciphering. It was generally taught to scholars proceeding

¹ *The Grammar Schoole*, by John Brinsley, edited by E. T. Campagnac, p. 25, University of Liverpool Press, 1917.

² *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³ Foster Watson gives an interesting account of arithmetic with counters in his *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England*, pp. 301-3, Pitman, 1909.

to the university, but the art of casting accounts was useful to boys who would later be apprenuiced. This distinction explains the references to arithmetic in the following Elizabethan schools.

Tideswell, Derby, 1560. The master to teach grammar and, for the petties, the figures and characteristics of letters.

St. Olave's Grammar School, Southwark, 1561. The master to teach children to write and read and cast accounts.

Bungay, Suffolk, 1592. The schoolmaster and scholars to keep school every Saturday and every half-holiday until 3 p.m., "for writing and casting accounts with the pen and counters according to their capacities"

Stainmore, Westmorland, 1594. Instruction of children in reading, writing, and accounts.

Wellingborough, Northampton, 1596. Master and usher to teach Latin, and also reading, writing, and accounts.

Aldenham, Herts, 1599. The usher to teach English, writing, ciphering, and accounts.

The subject ranking next in importance to grammar was the instruction given in religion and morals and the value attached to religious education was enhanced by the Reformation. At Wakefield, the Master swore, "The youth of this scole I shall diligently instruct in religion learning and good manners."

The statutes of Harrow insisted, "The schoolmaster shall have regard to the manners of his scholars and see that they come not uncombed unwashed ragged or slovenly; but above all things he shall punish severely lying, picking and stealing, fighting, filthiness or wantonness of speech and such like." The statutes of Newcastle Grammar School, 1600, directed that "youth should be well founded from their tenderest years in the rudiments of true religion and instructed in learning and good manners." After the Reformation the religious teaching was based upon the Bible and the Catechism. The latter had been compiled by Dean Nowell and was practically identical with that contained in the Book of Common Prayer. Older scholars used Latin or Greek versions of the Catechism.

The Injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, 1559, laid down the lines on which the religious instruction should proceed.

XLI. "That all teachers of children shall stir and move them to live and do reverence to God's true religion now truly set forth by public authority."

XLII "They shall accustom their scholars reverently to learn such sentences or scriptures as shall be most expedient to induce them to all godliness."

XLIII. "Every parson, vicar, or curate shall upon every holy-day and every second Sunday in the year, hear and instruct the youth of the parish for half an hour at the least before evening prayer in the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Belief, and the Lord's Prayer; and diligently examine them, and teach the Catechism set forth in the Book of Public Prayer."

In all the grammar schools, the school session began and ended with religious exercises which varied from a few set prayers prescribed by the founder to an elaborate service.¹

All pupils were obliged to attend Divine Service on Sundays and Holydays. Thus the statutes of Dronfield, Derbyshire, enjoin, "I ordain that the scholars do upon every Sunday and Holyday in the morning resort orderly to the school, and that they go thence into the church, two and two in rank, that they carry their service book with them, and answer the versicles in the Psalms as the clerk of the parish doth, that they kneel at such times of the celebration of Divine Service according as it is in that behalf prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, and that they stand up at the reading of the Creed, and bow at the sacred name of Jesus, and that as many as be of capacity do take in writing the notes of the preacher's sermons, and give account of them on Monday morning to the master."

Great attention was paid to the inculcation of good manners both in school and at the table. A. F. Leach tells us that the boys at Wells were given minute directions about their manners and behaviour. They were to cut their bread at dinner, not gnaw it with their teeth nor tear it with their nails. When drinking, their mouths were to be empty not full, and they were not to pick their teeth with their knives.²

Games and sport took a prominent place in school life, though they were not organised in the sense of modern games. Most of the games were of the type that would keep the pupils' bodies fit and healthy, such as running, wrestling, leapfrog, and above all archery. In some districts a crude type of football was played which was condemned by Elyot, but thought by Mulcaster to be useful.

¹ Examples of school prayers and services are given in J. H. Brown, *Elizabethan Schooldays*, pp. 55-61, Blackwell, 1933.

² *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 105.

Handball and stool ball, which were in a way ancestors of fives and cricket, were very popular. When Harrow School was founded by John Lyon, parents were expected to provide their boys with "bowshafts, bowstrings, and a bracer" Bowls was usually forbidden, lest in the bowling alleys the youth got into bad company. Mulcaster discusses the value of different sports and exercises, and we have seen that cock-fighting was one of the most popular pastimes. Nevertheless, it was strictly prohibited at some schools such as St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', and Manchester.

Some of the smaller schools were taught by one master, but usually there was also an usher or assistant-master. Very large schools had more than one usher. For example, St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' had three, and Shrewsbury four assistants. The master was in charge of the upper and the usher of the lower classes. The appointment of the master was sometimes in the hands of the founder and his heirs, or the governing body of the school, or the bishop, or a college at one of the universities. Upon appointment, he usually took a formal oath declaring that he would carry out his duties in a satisfactory manner. The statutes of Wakefield Grammar School enumerate the duties of the school-master in great detail. First and foremost comes the duty of instructing his pupils in religion, and he is directed to teach and examine his scholars in the principles of the Christian religion between one and two o'clock every Saturday. He is also charged to see that the pupils attend church on Sunday, "where his carefull eye shall overview their carriage and behaviour, their attention, also and diligence in noting the heads of instruction delivered by the preacher." On Monday morning he is to examine his scholars in the sermon and to deal with offenders who have been absent or negligent, "either by word, or by the rod, as the quality of the offence deserveth."

He is instructed to teach Lily's Latin Grammar and the Greek Grammar generally used in the colleges of Cambridge. There also follows a list of the Latin and Greek texts which are to be studied. "These duties by the master thus performed, yet lies there upon him a last duty of informing his youth in good nurture and manners which are themselves an ornament to religion and good learning."

The duties of the usher are similar to those of the master, but, "It shall further appertain to the office and duty of the usher to instruct the younger sort of scholars in the rudiments of the Latin tongue, and in the Latin grammar. . . . The usher shall at his best

leisure, set them copies or get them copies set by some of the scholars, and appoint them one hour for writing every teaching day afternoon in which their writing he shall oversee and instruct them."

When the pupils are proficient they are to be transferred from the usher's to the master's class. On appointment, the master and the usher swore an oath to carry out their duties diligently. The master's stipend was to be £26 13s. 4d. paid quarterly, and the usher's £10. This was rather more than the average stipend which worked out at £16 10s. and £9 respectively. In small country schools the stipend was a mere pittance, but the master's salary at a large school like Shrewsbury was £40. When these amounts are stated in modern terms (at present they would have to be multiplied by something over 20), they compare favourably with the pre-war scales for teachers, especially as in most cases the master had a house and received capitation fees and other payments. As a rule the usher was appointed and dismissed by the master with or without the consent of the governors.

The qualifications required for the master varied with different schools. Sometimes these are described in vague and indefinite terms, such as, "a learned and painful schoolmaster," "a pious, learned, and sober man," "a true member of the Church of England as by law established, a good grammar scholar, and an expert writer, and arithmetician." Some statutes state specifically that the master must be a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge. At Wakefield, the master must be an M.A. of Oxford or Cambridge; at Bradford, "a discreet and fit person, who should have taken the degree of M.A."; at Otley, "One mete man for knowledge religion and life, being well reported of and having taken the degree of Master of Arts or Batchelor of Arts." He must also be "perfect in ye Latin and Greek tongue; and a temperate man, fearinge God and of True Religion and Godly conversation, not contentious, not usinge or bent to any outward Faculty or given to Drunk'ness, swearinge, dyseing, cardinge or other unlawfull game." Some schools insisted that the master should be in priest's orders, *e.g.* Leeds, Skipton; and others that he should be single, *e.g.* Almondbury. In all cases he must be loyal to the Established Church and of good moral character. At Oundle, the Table of Orders states, "Neither the master or usher shall be common gamesters, haunters of taverns, neither to exceed in apparell, nor in any other ways to be an infamy to the School, or give evil example to the scholars, to whom

in all points they ought to be themselves of honest continent and Godly behaviour."

One master and an usher were frequently not sufficient to staff the school and we find a kind of monitorial system in certain schools. Thus, at Manchester in 1525, the statutes state, "The High Master shall alway appoint one of his scollers, as he thinketh best, to instruct and teach in the one end of the scole all infants that come there to learn their A B.C. primer and forthe till they begin gramyer, and in every month to choose another new scoller so as to teach infants." At Winchester, it was long the custom for senior boys to teach younger ones. This was all the more necessary, since boys were sent to the grammar school at an early age. Brinsley thought seven or eight years was the best age so that a boy would be ready to enter the university at about fifteen.

The masters maintained order in the schools by severe measures. In most pictures of 16th and 17th century schoolmasters and their schools, the master is depicted with a birch or rod. Ascham considered that many schoolmasters were impatient with dull boys and punished too severely. Brinsley was a very humane man and deprecated whipping for incapacity "Now this extreme whipping, all men know what a dislike it breedeth in the children, both of the schoole, and of all learning, as that they will think themselves very happy, if the parents will set them to any servile or toiling business, so that they may keep from schoole. And it also workes in them a secret hatred of their Masters."¹ He would, however, use the rod for moral offences and he speaks of it as "God's instrument to cure the evils of their conditions, to drive out that folly which is bound up in their hearts, so to save their soules from hell, and to give them wisdom."² Brinsley recommends reproof, loss of place in form or the giving of a black mark which he terms the "blacke Bill" as punishments for minor offences. The master or usher may also keep boys at their tasks while the rest play, but knowing boys he advises, "But herein there must be a special care, when they are thus restrained from play, that either Master or Usher, if it can be conveniently, have an eye to them, that they do not loyter; or some one specially appointed, to see that they do their tasks."³ As a last resort, appeal may be had to corporal punishment, but the master should know how to administer it properly. Care must be taken not to inflict injury upon the scholar

¹ John Brinsley *The Grammar Schoole*, Chap. 27

² *Ibid.*, Chap. 29

³ *Ibid.*, Chap. 29.

by smiting him across the back or upon the head. "When you are to correct any stubborne or unbroken boy, you make sure with him to hold him fast; as they are inforced to do, who are to shoo or to tame an unbroken colt. To this end to appoint 3 or 4 of your Schollers, whom you know to be honest, and strong inough, or moe if neede be, to lay hands upon him together, to hold him fast, over some fourme, so that he cannot stirre hand nor foot; or else if no other remedy will serve, to hold him to some post (which is farre the safest and free from inconvenience) so as he cannot in any way hurt himselfe or others, be he never so peevish."¹

Many masters were not as kindly as Brinsley would have them be. Thus, at Otley in 1652, the Master, Mr Brown, was dismissed by the governors. The charges against him were that there was no proof that he was a graduate as he pretended to be and that "he strapt francis Tomlinson for takinge pears out of his grandmother's orchard and beat him unmercifully; and that he did beat, Henry, the son of Jonas Flesher, pulled off the hair of his head, and punished him."

School hours were very long in the 16th and 17th centuries. At Eton in 1528, the boys rose at 5 a.m., school started at 6 a.m., breakfast was at 9 a.m., and school was resumed at 9.45 a.m. Dinner was at 11 a.m. and in the afternoon, school lasted from 1 p.m. to 5 p.m. At Wakefield in 1607, school was from 6 (sunrise in winter) to 11.0 a.m., and then from 1 p.m. to 6 p.m. At Winchester in 1550, school was for 7½ hours each day with two periods of prep., making in all 10 hours. Unpunctuality was punished by whipping.

Holidays were shorter than in modern schools. Saints' Days were kept as holidays (Holy Days), and on the Rogation Days, the whole school followed their elders round the boundaries of the parish. The pupils' memories of the boundaries were refreshed by whipping, bumping against trees, or being thrown into the stream where the boundaries crossed it.

The school year was divided into four quarters, but the usual number of vacations was three, Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. Their length varied but averaged about three weeks at Christmas, and a fortnight at Easter and Whitsun. In addition, two half-holidays a week were common, though, as we have seen, many

¹ *Op. cit.*, Chap. 29

pupils had to spend this time in learning to write and compute. Altogether the boy spent about twice the time in school that his modern counterpart does.

In the previous chapter we emphasised that the English schools were developed in close connection with the Church which exercised a very close supervision of education. By means of the licensing power, the Church, at the Reformation, had the practical control of education throughout the country. In 1553, Queen Mary ordered Bonner, Bishop of London, to "examine all schoolmasters and teachers of children and, finding them suspect in any ways, to remove them and place Catholic men in their rooms."¹

Elizabeth had a specially difficult problem to solve. On the one hand, she was faced by the "Recusants" who favoured the old order and did not accept the Elizabethan settlement. On the other, she was obliged to deal with the returned exiles of the previous reign whose desire was to see the Reformation carried further on Continental lines. Many of these became the Puritans of the later years of the 16th century.

In 1559, the Queen's Injunctions contained the order, "that no man shall take upon him to teach but such as shall be allowed by the Ordinary, and found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching, as for sober and honest conversation, and also for right understanding of God's true religion."

The latter phrase implied acceptance of the Elizabethan settlement. In 1580 the Separatist movement had grown and the Privy Council ordered an examination of all schoolmasters and tutors by the bishop or his representatives. If they were found corrupt or unworthy, they were to be deprived of their posts and should be replaced by sound and fit men. The Archbishop of Canterbury issued the following two items of inquiry:

"IV. Item. What schoolmasters are within your parish, and what their names are, that teach publicly or privately within any man's house within your parish, of what state, calling, or condition soever he or they be, in whose house or houses any such schoolmaster or teacher is?

"V. Item. Whether any such schoolmaster, or schoolmasters, is reported known or suspected to be backward in the religion now

¹ Quoted by N. Wood. *The Reformation and English Education*, p. 54, Routledge, 1931.

established by the laws of this realm, that, are thought any way to be secret hinderers thereof?"¹

The reference to teaching in private houses was due to the activities of priests who were suspected of giving instruction in religion to the households of Roman Catholic gentlemen in which they served as tutors. The carrying out of these instructions was left largely to the local Justices of the Peace, who were in many cases unwilling to take action unless their attention was expressly drawn to the facts. Many Roman Catholics had availed themselves of occasional conformity to secure their safety, but after the Papal excommunication of Elizabeth they had to make a definite choice. In spite of the persecution, we do hear of cases where schools were opened and continued for some time until an informer forced the local magistrates to take action.

Canon LXXVII of the Church of England, 1604, ordained that "No man shall teach either in public school or private house, but such as shall be allowed by the Bishop of the Diocese, or Ordinary of the place, under his hand and seal, being found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching, as for sober and honest conversation, and also for right understanding of God's true religion; and also except he shall first subscribe to the first and third Articles afore-mentioned simply and to the two first clauses of the said Article." In other words, the intending schoolmaster must first accept the Royal Supremacy and declare his belief in the apostolic character of the Established Church. The same attitude was prevalent throughout the Stuart period. The Act of Uniformity, 1662, required every schoolmaster to declare his conformity to the liturgy of the Church of England. A further Act of 1665 forbade Protestant Dissenters from teaching publicly or privately under a penalty of £40. In fact, at the end of the 17th century, the Church exercised as great a control over schoolmasters as at any period of the Middle Ages. It was not until 1779 that Dissenters gained full freedom to teach in schools. The same right was not accorded to Roman Catholics until 1790. Even then, both Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics attending the universities suffered under certain disabilities.

In the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, Roman Catholics found it impossible to have their sons educated in England. If they were

¹ Quoted by J. E. G. de Montmorency, *op. cit.*, p. 94. On page 96, Montmorency gives the text of the licence issued by Archbishop Whitgift to William Swetnam to teach a school within the City of London.

sent to the ordinary grammar schools and their religion was discovered they were usually expelled. The only solution of the problem was to send their children abroad to be educated. Allen had set up a school at Douai in the Low Countries for the education of priests. He had intended to include a grammar school in his foundation, but circumstances would not admit of it for some years. Douai started its life in 1568, but after a short space of 10 years the students were expelled by the townsfolk, and it was some years before they were able to return. Allen had expected this and had made arrangements for the college to be transferred to Rheims. By 1580 there were 200 students at the college or at the preparatory schools at Eu in Normandy, Pont-a-Musson, and Verdun. There was no place in the original college for younger pupils, and when Rheims was given up after the assassination of the Duke of Guise in 1588, the younger boys were sent to the Jesuits at Douai. The English Government was quite aware of what was happening and an Act of 1585 threatened with very heavy penalties any parent sending his child overseas to be educated. He was liable to a fine of £100 and his son forfeited the right of inheritance. Moreover, it was a serious offence to send money overseas to these children. In 1592, the college at Eu was moved to St Omer, where it continued until the expulsion of the Jesuits from France in 1762.

It is very difficult to assess the provision of primary education before the end of the 17th century. The records are scanty and widely dispersed and mostly contained in parish church registers. No systematic study of these from the point of view of education has yet been made, and such a research would be a stupendous task. However, there are clear indications that primary education was more widespread than was formerly believed. Apart from the numerous instances where the grammar school provided instruction in elementary subjects either by means of the usher or by senior pupils, there are cases where separate schools were built for elementary scholars. Sometimes they served the function of preparatory schools for the grammar school. This was increasingly necessary, since in the latter part of the 16th century the grammar schools had become more efficient, and the demand that pupils should be able to read and write before entering upon the grammar course began to be more widely made. At other times, the elementary school was an end in itself, being content to teach reading, writing, and accounts, and sending very few pupils on to the grammar school.

Leach mentions 45 schools which provided an elementary education, and this does not by any means exhaust the list. In addition to primary schools which survived the Reformation, there were certain schools, originally founded as grammar schools, whose fortunes declined and which became in fact elementary schools. Further evidence is afforded by the inquiries into endowed schools undertaken in 1842 and listed in the Digest of Schools and Charities for Education. Amongst the non-classical endowed schools, the names of 168 schools of unknown date are given. These may be presumed to be the schools of an elementary character which survived the Reformation. Moreover, evidence is forthcoming which indicates that the number of people in the 16th century who were able to read and write English was far greater than has hitherto been thought. Professor Adamson points out "that the Paston letters (written during the 15th century) were written in English and this demonstrates that the reading and writing of English was not confined to those who had been pupils at grammar schools."¹ This was truer still of the next century. The Privy Council took severe measures against people who distributed handbills or fixed them to the doors of townsfolk's houses. This action is difficult to explain unless we assume that the knowledge of reading and writing was fairly common. All the English reformers laid great emphasis upon opportunities for reading the Bible in English and they themselves wrote a large number of religious works in the vernacular. The supposition is that these were addressed to a sufficiently wide reading public as to make them worth while. The conclusion which seems best in answer to this problem is that in every town and in many large villages there existed one or more persons who gave instruction in reading and writing. In what cases this instruction was given privately and in what cases it was provided in a school are questions we have no means of answering accurately. Leach quotes the example of Falmouth in 1547 where the children of the poor were taught by the bellringer,² and Launceston where similar instruction was given by an aged man chosen by the mayor.³ Certain vestry records show that on occasions this instruction received rate aid. Thus, in 1561, the overseers' accounts of the City of Westminster contain the following entry, "To Bull for teaching a childe

¹ *Short History of Education*, pp. 82-3.

² *English Schools at the Reformation*, p. 31.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

—viii d.”¹ These instances appear to be cases of instruction given by private individuals. Others, however, suggest the existence of some kind of primary school.

Montmorency instances the example of the vestry of Hackney who, in 1613, appointed a schoolmaster who was allowed to charge up to 4d. a week for teaching grammar to the children of the parish and up to 2d. a week for teaching English reading only.² Foster Watson quotes the example of St. Olave's, Southwark. The Churchwardens, speaking of their Free School in 1561, say, “We have great number of poor people in our parish who are not able to keep their children at grammar. But we are desirous to have them taught the principles of Christian religion and to write, read and cast accounts and so to put them forth to prentice”³

He also mentions the Churchwardens' accounts of 1653 at Darlington, “Edward Holmes a poor scholar at the Petit School for half-yr's teaching 3s. 3d.,” and “Dame Seamer for her wages for teaching a boy one year 4/-.”⁴ Is the latter an early instance of a Dame School?

A. F. Leach gives several examples. From the Beverley accounts, “They agreed the same day [*i.e.* 1572] that the Governors shall appoint one Maister for to teach pettyes in this Borow; and to have 53s. 4d. allowed; and the Grammar Maister to be no more charged with teaching pettyes.”⁵ This looks as though the master of the grammar school had objected strenuously to the task of teaching small children to read and write. From the Rotherham accounts, 1635. “Item glasse for the Petty Schoole. 8d.”⁶

Adamson writes, “The practice, by a few private persons in different parts of the country, of maintaining or founding purely elementary schools for the poor, which had been begun under Elizabeth, continued, and the number of such schools probably increased during the century which followed. For example, at Lambeth in 1661 Richard Lawrence, a Commonwealth soldier, founded a charity school for twenty boys. During the period 1671-81 Dr. Busby, Headmaster of Westminster School, gave five or six pounds annually for instructing the poor children of the parish. The Blue Coat School, Westminster founded in 1688 . . . educated and clothed and, finally, apprenticed fifty boys. In 1697, Colonel Colchester, one of the five original founders of the Society for the

¹ J. E. G. de Montmorency, *op. cit.*, p. 191

² *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, p. 158.

³ *Early Yorkshire Schools*, Vol. I, p. 118.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 210.

Propagation of Christian Knowledge, was maintaining at Westbury on Severn a school in which sixty-seven boys and girls learned writing and reading, the horn book,¹ primer and New Testament.”²

At Wakefield, John Storie, in 1674, left the rent of his lands to enable 12 boys to proceed to the Wakefield Grammar School and from thence to the university. “And my mind and will is that the said three boys be chosen out of those poor children that I have lately settled lands upon for their teaching at a petty school, until they be fit to go to the Free Grammar School in Wakefield.” This was acted upon as soon as the will was proved, and the Governors named 12 boys and resolved “that John Pickergill, Schoolmaster, be admitted to teach and instruct the twelve boys included in John Story, gent., his gift.” The number 12 was obtained by nominating three boys over a period of four successive years. They were to be admitted as “free petty scholars to be taught by the foresaid Pickergill, till they be fitt for the Free Grammar Schoole.” This petty school was never actually established, so that the boys were probably educated at the expense of the Grammar School Governors.³

At Leeds there was in addition to the Grammar School, a Free School which was conducted in the Chantry on Leeds Bridge until 1728. This chapel was bought by the Trustees of the Grammar School in 1579 and used as a reading school. It may have served the purpose of a preparatory school for the Grammar School. Thoresby states that he received part of his education from “the Reverend Mr. Robert Garnet, M.A. of Christ’s Col. Cambridge,”

¹ The Horn Book was a development from the Prymer. The latter was originally the people’s prayer book of pre-Reformation days containing those parts of the Breviary suitable for the laity. The 15th and 16th century prymers not only contained instructions on the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, etc., but were generally prefaced by the alphabet, lists of vowels and consonants, and lists of syllables, e.g. ab, eb, ib, etc. The Horn Book appeared as early as 1450 as a kind of abridged prymer. The alphabetic preface to the prymer, together with the Lord’s Prayer and the Creed, were printed on a card and attached to a wooden tablet. The card was protected by a sheet of horn. The handle of the tablet made the affair look like a bat and no doubt schoolboys used it for this purpose as well as for learning to read. Girls often worked out their own little prymers with needle and coloured wools. These samplers contained the alphabet, vowels and consonants, texts, prayers, verses, and illustrations of various kinds. Eventually the name “primer” was given to any type of introductory textbook.

² *A Short History of Education*, p. 197.

³ Storie’s bequest has long been used for the provision of scholarships to the Wakefield Grammar School. It applies to boys educated in the primary schools of Wakefield. Candidates are now selected to hold a Storie award at the Grammar School on the basis of their position in the examination for selection of children for admission to grammar schools.

at "a private grammar school at the North-end of the Great Stone Bridge." This is generally accounted a reference to the Free School. He adds that "the higher Story is for Writing and Arithmetick lately taught by Mr. Robert Kettlewell." The Minutes of the Committee of Pious Uses at Leeds contain the following entries:

1678 Robert Kettlewell, gent., allowed and approved to keep a writing school in the Schoole at Leedes bridge end . . .

1676 John Moore, gent., ditto.

1677 Joseph Pickles, gent., ditto.

1694 Mr. John Rotton admitted vice Lawson (?) deceased but to keep it in good repair

1688-9 Mr. Robert Jackson to have use of the school and to agree with Mr. Hurst for such benches etc. as he has there."¹

At Bradford in the 17th century there is evidence of the existence of a free endowed school which was distinct from the Bradford Grammar School and was probably the parish school.²

In the writer's own parish of Adel, Yorkshire, the registers contain the entry of the death of the schoolmaster, William Smith, 1627, and towards the end of the century the entry of the baptism of "Elizabeth Watson, daughter of Israel Watson schole-master of Eccup." Thus in this one small parish, which at that time had a population of less than 400, there were two schoolmasters.

We know that the Church included the instruction of the young as one of the duties of the incumbent of the parish and that the "school" was frequently held in the church porch. How far this instruction went beyond teaching religion and morals depended upon the individual clergyman.

One of the most interesting writers on education in the Elizabethan period was Richard Mulcaster. When, in 1560, the Merchant Taylors' Guild established the grammar school of that name, Mulcaster was appointed Master at a salary of £10, a dwelling, and a small addition by way of fees. Amongst his pupils were Edmund Spenser the poet, and Andrews, Bishop of Winchester. In 1576, Mulcaster was appointed Master of St. Paul's School at a salary of £36 and residence. In his two books, the *Positions*, and the *First Part of the Elementarie*, he develops views considerably in

¹ A. C. Price. *History of the Leeds Grammar School*, R. Jackson, 1919.

² Bradford Grammar School is an interesting example of a grammar school which had a long life before the official date of its foundation. Its charter was granted by Charles II in 1662, but the school was probably in existence as early as 1547 at the dissolution of the chantries. The records show that Gervase Worrall was appointed Master of the school in 1641.

advance of his age. He writes in English because "though I appeal to the learned who understand Latin, I wish to reach also the unlearned, who understand only English, and whose interests are to be the more considered that they have fewer chances of information." He also declares that "My purpose is to help the whole business of teaching even from the very first foundation, that is to say, not only what is given in the Grammar School, and what follows afterwards, but also the elementary training which is given to infants from their first entrance, until they are thought fit to pass on to the Grammar School."¹

He thinks that education should start with reading and should then pass on to the arts of writing, drawing, and music, and he has much to say how these should be taught. If there had been little opportunity for elementary education, Mulcaster's suggestions would have been useless. He would not limit education to boys but he would not advocate higher education for girls. "I do not advocate sending young maidens to public Grammar Schools, or to the Universities as this has never been the custom in this country."² In addition to the elementary skills of reading, writing, and music, Mulcaster suggests needlework and housewifery. We know of a few references to schools for girls in the Middle Ages and there are occasional mentions of schoolmistresses after the Reformation, but the education of girls, such as it was, took place mainly in the home. Amongst the wealthier people a girl was taught by a private tutor or governess, but in middle class homes, and amongst the poor, the girl's mother was usually the only teacher.

The writer's argument is that the existence of a large number of elementary schools before the philanthropic efforts of the 18th century has been overlooked. Facilities for elementary education existed in the 16th and 17th centuries, but they were unorganised and were more widely diffused in some parts of the country than others. The charity schools of the early 18th century were nothing new. The work of the philanthropic agencies infused a new life and gave a new direction to elementary education. For the first time the education of the masses became both an ideal and a possibility.

¹ J. Oliphant. *The Educational Writings of Richard Mulcaster*, p. 4, James Maclehose, 1903.

² *Ibid*, p. 51.

CHAPTER III

SECONDARY EDUCATION—1660-1805

The spirit of Humanism which had entered the ancient grammar schools at the Renaissance like a breath of life had almost spent itself at the end of the 16th century. In their curriculum and methods of instruction the schools had settled down to a narrow, formal, and academic outlook which was out of contact with the growing demands of the age. The discovery and settlement of new lands resulting in a great expansion of commerce, the new outlook which was developing as a consequence of the growth of mathematical and scientific knowledge, the freshly awakened spirit of philosophy, and the rich contributions to life and thought made by perhaps the greatest period in the history of our literature, had little impact upon the schools, which concentrated upon the learning of Latin grammar and the rather pedantic study of a few classical authors. More and more, the grammar schools occupied themselves with the task of preparing their pupils for entrance to the universities, from which they would emerge to become clergymen, lawyers, doctors, or even schoolmasters, and thus help to perpetuate the system. The moribund state of the universities was reflected in the schools.

Even before the end of Elizabeth's reign, dissatisfaction was being expressed with the "gerund grinding" of the grammar schools. As the schools and universities were increasingly felt to be out of touch with the growing interests of the outside world, new suggestions were put forward in the shape of Academies, which would supply a type of education lacking in the grammar schools. As early as 1570, Sir Humphrey Gilbert proposed a "Queen Elizabeth's Academy" which should teach "matters of action meet for present practice, both of peace and war." Besides the Classics, Gilbert advocated the study of logic and rhetoric, moral and natural philosophy, law, heraldry, dancing, music, and riding. These subjects were to be taught in English, since the vernacular was the tongue in use in all the operations of everyday life. Gilbert's proposals came to nothing, but they showed the way people were thinking. There were also several interesting attempts either to found new schools or to re-adapt existing schools so that they would be in closer contact with the changing demands of the times. Christ's Hospital had been founded in 1553 for the poor and sick of London.

Small as well as older children were admitted, and girls as well as boys, and teachers were provided to teach the alphabet, reading, and writing, to the younger pupils. If these pupils showed no bent for learning, they were to be apprenticed as soon as their elementary studies were completed. Many of the boys looked forward to leaving school and entering upon a career of adventure in the Indies or America. It was found necessary to curb this youthful enthusiasm, and a statute was promulgated forbidding children to be sent overseas without the consent of their parents.

In 1673, the Mathematical School of Christ's Hospital was founded to provide for the instruction of 40 boys in grammar, arithmetic, and the art of navigation. When they had completed their course they were to be apprenticed for seven years to captains of the Indian Navy. Books, maps, globes, and mathematical instruments, were provided, but, although supported by the King and encouraged by Pepys, Halley, and Sir Isaac Newton, the school did not make much headway. The lack of success of the school was largely due to incompetent management. About the same time a number of private schools to teach navigation were opened, and some of the grammar schools near the sea coast included mathematics and navigation in the timetable. Thus, in 1679, Dartmouth Grammar School appointed a master to teach English, navigation, and mathematics.

The courtly academy for the education of the sons of the nobility which flourished on the Continent never really developed in this country. In 1640, a proposal was made in the House of Lords for founding an academy to train young noblemen and gentlemen, but once more nothing came of it. The English aristocracy preferred to have their sons educated by private tutors. It was towards the end of the 17th century that the differentiation between the great public schools and the remainder of the grammar schools became more marked. Winchester, because of the scale of its foundation, and Eton, because of its royal patron, had always been pre-eminent amongst the English schools. Other schools, on account of their size or antiquity, or because of the social status of many of their pupils, began to occupy a more prominent position. They were frequently referred to as "the great schools," but the term "public school" had not yet attained its modern significance. One important development should be noted, namely the increase of non-foundation scholars admitted on payment of fees as compared with those on the foundation who received their tuition gratis. The same

change was taking place in the smaller grammar schools. Although compelled by their statutes to admit foundation scholars without payment, many of the schools, owing to depreciation in the value of money, found their endowments insufficient to meet the expenses of the school. The only solution was to admit more fee payers, and if the statutes forbade this, the school tended to sink into insignificance. Some schools were fortunate in possessing endowments in real property situated on the outskirts of London and the large towns. As the cities expanded, the property grew in value and offset, or more than offset, the declining value of money. Others, however, whose endowment consisted of a few fields in the heart of the country, or on the slopes of the Pennines, were very badly hit. This process was to continue for the next 200 years so that, in the mid 19th century, the Taunton Commission considered the term "free grammar school" a complete misnomer.

Criticisms of the grammar schools became more frequent in the 17th century, but they had little effect upon the existing institutions. They bore fruit in an entirely new type of school which will be discussed later. One of the most influential critics was Sir Francis Bacon. "The position of Bacon in the history of education, as in the history of human thought, is usually either much exaggerated or under-valued. On the one hand he was not the discoverer of a new method of thought, for he had predecessors as well as co-labourers. . . . Nor on the other hand was he a man who simply repeated what was a time-worn familiarity with all great thinkers."¹

Bacon's contention was that the universities and schools occupied themselves with words rather than things, and were dominated by the authorities of the past. He thought that the schools produced too many scholars who proceeded to the universities, and that while the professions tended to be overcrowded there was a lack in the country and towns, of both servants for husbandry and apprentices for trade. This view was expressed in a letter he wrote to Thomas Sutton, who proposed founding a hospital and school in the Charterhouse of Smithfield. Bacon's influence on Wolfgang Ratke and Comenius is well known. The latter was invited to England by the Long Parliament as a member of a commission for the reform of education. The Civil War made the sitting of the commission impossible, so that after waiting some

¹ Paul Monroe. *A Text-book in the History of Education*, p. 477, Macmillan, 1907.

months, until he saw the hopelessness of the situation, Comenius left for Sweden in 1642.

Milton's *Tractate on Education*, 1644, was still more trenchant in its criticisms of the traditional system. He considered that the error of the schools was threefold. They concentrated on formal grammar and exercises in composition, they paid no attention to the literary side of language, and they confined themselves entirely to the language and literature of Greece and Rome. The *Tractate* was dedicated to Master Samuel Hartlib, who was the most enthusiastic advocate in England of the views of Comenius. In a letter to Hartlib, Milton denounced "the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful." Milton's cure as expressed in the *Tractate* was almost as bad as the evil it was intended to mend. He says, quite soundly, "We do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek, as might be learnt otherwise easily and delightfully in one year." When, however, he describes the curriculum for a boy from the age of 12 to 21, he gives a most impracticable programme. If carried out in practice, the result would have been mental indigestion, so many and unrelated are the studies advocated. Moreover, the whole of the complicated information was to be gathered from books mainly in Latin and in Greek. The most important contribution of the *Tractate* is his well-known definition of the end of Education, "I call therefore a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skillfully, and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of Peace and War."

The third critic was John Locke, whose views were expressed both in his philosophical works and in his *Thoughts concerning Education*, 1692. Locke, although himself a product of Westminster School (Hebrew and Arabic were taught to the upper forms in addition to Latin and Greek), thought so badly of the public schools of his age that he preferred to rely on the services of a private tutor. "... You think it worth while to hazard your son's innocence and virtue for a little Greek and Latin. How any one's being put into a mixed herd of unruly boys, and there learning to wrangle at Trap or rook at Span Farthing fits him for civil conversation or business, I do not see. And what qualities are ordinarily to be got from such a troop of Play-fellows as Schools usually assemble together from parents of all kinds, that a father should so much covet, is hard to divine." Locke thoroughly disapproved of the

studies and methods of teaching in the schools. "When I consider what ado is made about a little Latin and Greek, how many years are spent in it, and what a noise and business it makes to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking that the parents of children still live in fear of the Schoolmaster's Rod." The constant repetition needed in order to learn by heart extracts from classical authors, calls forth his scorn. "Languages are to be learned only by reading and talking, and not by scraps of authors got by heart; which when a man's head is stuffed with, he has got the just furniture of a pedant, than which there is nothing less becoming a gentleman." When, however, Locke leaves criticism and comes to the constructive side of his programme, his suggestions are quite as impracticable as those of Milton. Like the latter, he took an encyclopaedic view and believed in education covering the whole of human knowledge and accomplishments. It is noteworthy that amongst the subjects he would have taught are French, arithmetic, chronology, history, and geometry. As the pupil grows older he should learn astronomy, ethics, the civil and common law, and natural philosophy. In addition, he should be taught certain accomplishments such as riding, fencing, wrestling, dancing, and should be familiar with at least one trade.

The English grammar schools were largely unaffected by the criticisms of the period and by the new ideas developing on the Continent. In justice to them, it is difficult to see how they could have made any major alterations in the traditional curriculum, bound as they were by their foundation statutes and tied to the Church by the requirements of the licence to teach. After the Restoration, a new type of school arose which was able to exercise the freedom denied to the older institutions. The Act of Uniformity and the Five Mile Act were aimed at Protestant Dissenters who carried on the profession of schoolmaster. At the same time Nonconformist tutors at the universities were expelled. Many of these tutors opened academies for training candidates for the ministry, but other pupils were accepted as well. During the 17th century, the academies were carried on more or less under conditions of secrecy.

Thus the academy at Rathmell, near Settle, Yorks, founded by Richard Frankland, the earliest institution of its kind in the north of England, had to move several times during its short existence, 1669-98. It seems that two distinct colleges were founded in the Newington Green district of London. The earlier

one owes its origin to Theophilus Gale, who was ejected from his Fellowship at Oxford in 1660. One of his pupils was Isaac Watts, the famous hymnologist. This college was dissolved in 1705 at the death of Thomas Rowe, Gale's successor. The second college was due to Charles Morton, who was a distinguished mathematician. It was opened about 1675 and has sometimes been confused with the earlier one. It numbered among its pupils, Samuel Wesley, the father of the evangelist, and Daniel Defoe, the author. From these two men we learn a good deal about the curriculum followed. Wesley wrote, "This Academy were indeed the most considerable, having annex a fine Garden, Bowling Green, Fish Pond, and within a laboratory and some not inconsiderable rarities with air-pump, thermometer and all sorts of mathematical instruments." From Defoe we learn that in addition to the classical languages, the pupils studied French, Italian, and Spanish, mathematics, natural science, history, geography, logic, and politics.

The academy at Sheriffhales in Shropshire, where Harley, Earl of Oxford, and St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, received their education, is well known. One academy, Gloucester, could boast of two famous pupils who occupied high offices in the Established Church. One was Secker, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, the other Joseph Butler, later Bishop of Durham, the most distinguished English moral philosopher of the 18th century. The Gloucester Academy was originally opened in that city in 1708, but was forced to seek more favourable accommodation at Tewkesbury in 1712. Its Principal, Samuel Jones, developed Oriental languages as a special study, for in addition to the Classics and mathematics, instruction was given in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac. One of the later academies was Warrington, 1757-86. A very detailed description of the curriculum has been furnished. The course of studies covered three years. In the first year, pupils studied arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and French. The second year's course emphasised mathematics (trigonometry; instruction in navigation was given when desired), and natural science, together with "the easier parts of Astronomy applied to the use of Globes and the general system of the Universe." The concluding year was divided between natural science (chemistry), and morality and Christian evidences. The Academy also provided instruction in writing, drawing and design, book-keeping, and geography. Joseph Priestley, the discoverer of oxygen, and later minister of Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, was for a time one of the lecturers. In his *Essay on a Course of*

Liberal Education for Civil and Active Life, 1765, he describes a curriculum somewhat similar to that adopted at Warrington. He emphasised that the range of studies should include not only those aiming at a university career or one of the learned professions, but also those subjects which would be useful for any department of life.

The reader will have noticed the very wide range of studies proposed in the academies. A later writer criticised their curriculum on the basis that "the grand error in almost every dissenting academy has been the attempt to teach and to learn too much." The encyclopaedic range of studies may have been due to the views of Milton, but it is more likely that the deciding factor was the variety of professions the students had in view, including that of teaching in similar establishments.

When the restrictions upon dissenters keeping school were removed in 1779, the need for the older academies disappeared. Their place was taken by a large number of private schools opened in London and the large industrial centres, and modelled upon the older academies. These institutions had a free hand in experimenting with new subjects and fresh ideas and provided a pattern for the reform of secondary education in later years.

During the 17th century, the Jesuits attempted to open schools in England. Stanley Grange was started in 1633. One of the boys became a Protestant and informed the authorities, who could no longer turn a blind eye to the existence of the school. It was broken up, but re-formed on a smaller scale in 1638. There is also evidence that similar schools were opened in other parts of the country. On the accession of James II, the Jesuits were given permission to establish a school in the Savoy which contained "at least two hundred Catholick Scollers and about as many Protestants," but the Revolution of 1688 brought such ventures to an end.

Locke's denunciation of the grammar and public schools, although it had little effect in improving them, was of considerable assistance in emptying them of some of their most promising pupils. His advice to provide private tutors was followed by large numbers of the upper classes, who sent their sons, after a period of private tuition, to tour the Continent rather than to study at Oxford and at Cambridge. Private schools sprang up to cater for the needs of the middle classes. The effect of this is seen in the declining number of pupils at the grammar schools and of students at the

universities. Another effect was the widening of the distinction between the local and non-local grammar schools, the latter becoming, in the 18th century, institutions for the education of the wealthier classes.

If the 17th century witnessed the decline of the grammar schools, the 18th century displayed secondary education at its very lowest level. Two causes were contributory. One was the steady decline in the standards of both social and official life during the reigns of the first two Georges. There is no need to stress the wholesale corruption of public life under the long dominance of Walpole, the cold formality of the religion of the Established Church, and the deterioration in morals and manners of all classes of the community. All this occurred when the thin veneer of culture which was shown so prominently in early 18th century literature, concealed the real disintegration which was taking place in English life and manners. The 18th century was a most astounding period in history. At the top was a culture, which has had few equals in its polish and refinement. The middle classes were self-satisfied and sensual. The one quality which received universal condemnation was enthusiasm. Throughout the century the governing classes were acutely aware of the danger of revolution coming from below. The manners, morals, and life of the submerged classes cause the modern student conflicting feelings of pity and disgust.

The other cause was the slow transition during which England from being almost an entirely agricultural country became the leading industrial nation of the world.

The Governments of the time did not understand what was happening, and failed to control or direct the course of the Industrial Revolution. Hence, it was allowed to take its own course until the evils which it engendered grew to such magnitude that at length Government intervention became a necessity.

Yet, at the same time, this astounding century represented a most glorious epoch in the history of our country. It was an age when the Empire grew at a most rapid rate, and even the check to its growth occasioned by the American revolt was compensated by the acquisition of new territories in Australia and India. The restrained classical style in literature gave way to the warmth and emotional fervour of the romantic revival of the early 19th century. Great things were accomplished in art, music, natural science, and philosophy, discovery, and invention. Finally, the philanthropic and humanitarian movements prepared the way and were in turn

fostered by a new outburst of religious fervour both inside and outside the Established Church, and laid the foundations of the social reforms and educational progress of the next century.

It was not, however, until the close of the century that these developments affected secondary education. The grammar schools, bound by their foundation statutes, were unable to change their narrow classical curriculum even if they wished to. Some schools with meagre endowments became institutions which provided only an elementary education. A few, showing more courage and initiative than the rest, added such modern subjects as elementary mathematics, modern languages, book-keeping, and dancing. As these were extras and involved the engagement of additional staff, special fees were charged to pupils taking these subjects. The attempt of the grammar schools to improve their condition received a severe shock at the hands of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Eldon, in the decision which he gave in the well-known Leeds Grammar School case. As in most schools, the number of pupils at Leeds had steadily declined, and during the years 1791-96 reached its low-water mark of 44. The Committee of Charitable Uses which acted as the governing body of the school, suggested bad teaching and a deterioration in discipline as partial causes, but attributed the main cause to the inadequacy of the curriculum. The only subjects taught were Latin, Greek, and Divinity, although the fact that John Smeaton, the famous engineer and builder of the Eddystone lighthouse, was a pupil of the school, suggests that some mathematics was taught to selected pupils. Leeds at this time was an example of one of the growing industrial and commercial communities springing up over a large part of northern England. The curriculum of the grammar school was unlikely to attract the wealthy manufacturers and merchants of the town. Accordingly, as early as 1777, the Committee resolved "as soon as convenient with respect to Rents and Profits of School to appoint a Master for the purpose of teaching to Write and Account such Boys as shall attend at the Free School to learn Latin and Greek, and also that another Master shall be appointed to teach the French tongue and other Foreign languages, and that sufficient salaries shall be appointed for such masters"

Nothing, however, was done about the matter until the appointment of Mr. Whiteley as Headmaster in 1789. A sub-committee called to consider the introduction of the new subjects reported that Mr. Whiteley did not agree and that he was supported by the

Usher. The only way out of the difficulty was an appeal to the law courts. In 1797, a Master in Chancery held an inquiry whether it would be "proper and for the benefit of the Charity to have any other Master or masters to teach writing, arithmetic, and other languages besides the Greek and the Latin." He quoted the testimony of the Committee that Leeds had "a very extensive Foreign Trade" and that the introduction of new studies would be useful to the townsfolk and increase the number of pupils. He added that there was nothing in the endowment which excluded the teaching of any useful kind of learning and he suggested adding a German and a French master, and one to teach mathematics. As for writing and arithmetic, there was a variety of schools catering for these subjects and to teach them free at the grammar school would harm these institutions rather than benefit the townsfolk.

The report did not satisfy the Committee and drew forth the protest from the masters that the "School was intended for a Grammar School only, and not for algebra, the mathematics or the modern languages." In view of this disagreement, the case was heard by Lord Eldon as Lord Chancellor. In his judgment, delivered July, 1805, he emphasised that the argument must stand or fall by the facts and not by expediency. The intention of the founder was to establish a grammar school and, according to Dr. Johnson, a grammar school was defined as an institution "for teaching grammatically the learned languages." The court could not sanction "the conversion of that Institution by filling a school intended for that mode of Education with scholars learning the German and French languages, Mathematics, and anything save Greek and Latin." The policy of the Committee would turn the school into a commercial academy. "This is a scheme to promote the benefits of the Merchants of Leeds. It is not that the poor Inhabitants are to be taught reading and writing English, but the Clerks and Riders of the Merchants are to be taught French and German to carry on a Trade. I fear the effect would be to turn out the poor Latin and Greek scholars altogether."

Leach comments on the case as follows: "This decision carried dismay to all interested in the advancement of education and nearly killed half the schools in the county." In justice to Lord Eldon, it may be said that he had before him numerous examples of grammar schools which were no longer grammar schools, but which had in fact become primary schools. He also showed respect to the declared intentions of the founder and brushed aside the plea

that had the founder lived in modern times his bequest would have been worded differently. Lord Eldon's attitude presents a striking contrast to many education authorities, central and local, who seem to ride roughshod over the intentions of founders as expressed in the foundation deeds of schools.

Leach's comment is not fully justified, for even at Leeds we find that Mr. Whiteley himself appointed additional masters and volunteered to teach mathematics to the higher forms, and in 1806 the Committee resolved (a) "that the teaching under proper restrictions of branches of the Mathematics as are usually taught to young men proceeding to their admission to the University would induce Persons to send their Boys to the School to learn Greek and Latin and would thereby tend to promote the object of the Founder"; (b) no boy should learn any other science unless at the same time "he pursued also Classical learning"; (c) "that no boy should start the learning of other sciences until he could construe the Latin Testament."

Subsequent decisions by Lord Eldon supported the judgment delivered in the Leeds Grammar School case, and he has been frequently charged with delaying the cause of reform for two generations. The truth is that he was determined to uphold the essential features of the grammar schools as enunciated by their founders, but he was not averse to the introduction of other subjects provided the studies specified in the foundation were taught. The introduction of modern subjects in the very school in which the dispute had arisen makes his point of view sufficiently clear. Several large grammar schools which possessed enough funds for the purpose obtained private Acts of Parliament authorising the introduction of subjects not mentioned in the foundation. An example is Macclesfield, which obtained a private Act in 1838, enabling the governors to establish a Modern Free School in addition to the Grammar School. Modern subjects (exclusive of the Classics) could be taught subject to the consent of the governors. After an unsuccessful attempt in Parliament to reverse Lord Eldon's decision, the Grammar Schools Act of 1840 gave freedom to grammar school governors to introduce subjects other than those provided for in the foundation.

The condition of the public schools was almost as deplorable as the grammar schools and their curriculum was just as restricted. Dr. Thomas James, who was Headmaster of Rugby from 1778 to 1794 and who was a really able schoolmaster, has left us minute

details of the 18th century public school curriculum. When Dr. Butler, who had been an assistant at Rugby, was appointed to Shrewsbury he sought advice from his old head. James replied willingly and in great detail. Not only did he give advice about the methods of running a large boarding school, but he also furnished detailed information about the work of the different forms at Rugby. Dr. Butler's famous grandson, the author of *Erewhon*, included this account in the life of his grandfather. From this we learn that the bulk of the work of the lower forms to the VIth was entirely classical. In the lowest form the boys learnt nothing but Latin grammar. In the second and third forms certain authors were studied and the pupils worked exercises in Latin prose and verse composition. Greek was begun in the third form and throughout the school the unending grind at grammar, translation, Latin and Greek prose, and verse exercises went on. Any other subjects were taught on what were supposedly holidays. On holidays the boys attended school from ten to eleven in the morning and two to three in the afternoon. On half-holidays they attended from two to three o'clock. In these periods, the lower forms learnt writing and arithmetic, and the Vth Form geography and algebra. It is probable that the latter subject was taught by Dr. James himself. At any rate he afterwards confessed that this weekly mathematical period "wearied his body to excess and made it hot, or, at any rate, perspire too much." Some years earlier, in 1766, James had prepared an account of the work done at Eton and we find it followed lines similar to those at Rugby.

The moral state of the schools came in for some sharp criticism. It was asserted that the life of the pupils was rough and brutal, and many parents from the wealthier sections of the community so dreaded sending their sons to the large boarding schools that they either utilised the services of private tutors or sent them on the Grand Tour. It was in this way that many of the polished gentlemen scholars of the 18th century were produced, a type well exemplified by Ashley Cooper, the "elegant" Earl of Shaftesbury, who was a pupil of Locke. Even in the best schools the administration was chaotic, the school understaffed, and the boarding arrangements most unsatisfactory. The food was often scanty and ill-cooked. After lesson periods little supervision was exercised by the masters. In some schools, after prep, the boys were driven into the dormitories, the doors locked and not opened until it was time to rise for morning meal and school. Bullying and fagging

were almost universal. The latter custom, although it seemed so objectionable to the outsider, does not seem to have been objected to by the boys themselves, who took it as part of the nature of things that the smaller boys should look after the wants of their seniors. The picture of life at Rugby presented in *Tom Brown's Schooldays* is a true one. Cowper, who had been educated at Westminster, once wrote, "Great schools suit but the sturdy and the rough."

Discipline was usually maintained by flogging. Lamb's account of James Boyer, his old master at Christ's Hospital, presents a picture common to the age. He concludes his description of Boyer's ferociousness and brutality with the words, "Perhaps we cannot dismiss him better than with the pious ejaculation of C— when he heard that his old master was on his death-bed; 'Poor J. B.'—may all his faults be forgiven; and may he be wafted to bliss by little cherub boys, all head and wings, with no bottoms to reproach his sublunary infirmities.'" Flogging was not the only form of punishment at Christ's. Lamb's descriptions of solitary confinement in fetters, and public scourging, fill the modern reader with horror. Without attempting to defend the disciplinary methods of the 18th and early 19th centuries we have to bear in mind that the universal practice of flogging in schools was part and parcel of the attitude in life adopted at that time. An age which began with the use of the pillory and stocks for minor offences, and hanged the small pilferer; which later sanctioned transportation to Botany Bay and suffered the sight of the bodies of criminals hanging on gibbets, was not likely to be unduly disturbed by the flogging of schoolboys.

Locke was at Westminster as a pupil of Dr. Busby whose name has been handed down the ages as the type of the flogging school-master. Perhaps the flogging by Dr. Busby aimed at achieving something like the hardening and toughening process which Locke recommended in his *Thoughts on Education*. Two masters at Eton have been made famous by their flogging activities. One was George Heath, Headmaster from 1792 to 1801. Tradition has it that on one occasion he administered 10 cuts with two birches to each of 70 boys and that as a result he was laid up with aches and pains for more than a week. This was probably his reply to the open defiance of his orders by the Vth Form and some of the juniors who "shirked" the six o'clock absence and rowed up the Thames as far as Maidenhead. The other Headmaster famous for his flogging was Dr. Keate. All kinds of legends have grown

round the latter and it is difficult to discover how far they are true. There is, for example, very little foundation for the story that Keate, in explaining the meaning of the Beatitude, said, "Blessed are the pure in heart. Mind that, it's your duty to be pure in heart. If you are not pure in heart, I'll flog you." A better authenticated story is that of Keate flogging the boys who had been sent to him for instruction as Confirmation candidates. The mistake can be easily explained. The list of the candidates was on a piece of paper the same size and shape as that which bore the names of offenders. There are some writers who are perhaps inclined to be rather unjust to Keate. Many of Keate's old pupils have recorded that at heart he was really a kindly man and that his ferociousness was assumed. Keate was called to the Headmastership of Eton at a very difficult and critical time. His predecessor was Dr. Goodall, who was appointed Provost of Eton in 1809. During Dr. Goodall's time, discipline had become very relaxed and the boys had got completely out of hand. The school was ridiculously understaffed, eight or nine masters for between 500 and 600 boys in the upper school. The average number of boys in the class of an assistant master was 70. When Keate took over he had the tremendous task of creating order from chaos and he employed the only means that the old-time schoolmaster knew. He was a first-class scholar, but he had the impossible task of teaching the Upper Vth and VIth Forms together, a total of 170 boys. His first problem was to enforce some kind of order, but he did not always succeed in this. On winter evenings, when the upper school was illuminated by the dim light of candles, the boys were able to hum tunes and throw bread pellets at one another without much chance of being discovered. No wonder that the masters were severe to cruelty under conditions such as these, and small wonder that the schoolboys regarded their masters as natural enemies and judged any form of escape, whether by lying or cheating, as fully justified. Keate took it for granted that every boy would lie to him and so most of them did.

At times the pupils rose in actual revolt. Every great boarding school has its story of schoolboy insurrection in the latter years of the 18th and the early years of the 19th century. Winchester led in rebellion, but was soon followed by Rugby and Eton. The school most affected by rebellions was Harrow. The great rebellion at Rugby in 1797 was so serious that the military were called out and the Riot Act read. It would not be true to say that all these

revolts were caused by bad conditions. Even the most enlightened schoolmasters had to face them. Schoolboys have always been creatures of tradition and when the school at Shrewsbury rose against Butler, although the reason given was bad feeding, it was really a protest against Butler's endeavour to tighten up discipline. James was troubled with two revolts at Rugby because he denied to his Praepostors the right to flog. Keate had to face a very serious rebellion in 1818 when five boys smashed his desk to pieces with a sledge hammer. He quelled this by his usual vigorous methods and was able to report in his diary that "the boys are as quiet as lambs." The last revolt at Eton took place in 1832.

Some writers such as Gibbon and Goldsmith wrote in praise of the public schools, but in spite of what they had to say, the fact remained that many of the schools declined noticeably in numbers. The prestige of an able headmaster temporarily resulted in a rise in numbers which began to fall immediately a less capable man took his place. Winchester fluctuated considerably between 1610 and 1800. Although the "scholars" remained at the original number of 70, the "commoners," who were as numerous as 123 in 1734, fell to eight in 1751. James at Rugby, Butler at Shrewsbury, Barnard at Eton, and Thackeray at Harrow, are examples of outstanding headmasters. When James was appointed to Rugby in 1778 he found the school nothing more than an ordinary country grammar school. He left it as a first-class school. Samuel Butler always declared, in his rather perverse way, that James was a much better schoolmaster than Arnold.

The foremost headmaster of this time was Dr. Samuel Butler of Shrewsbury. A great deal is known about him from the biography written by his better known grandson. The latter's *Life and Letters of Dr. Butler* throws a remarkable light upon the 18th century public schools. Butler was appointed to the school in 1798. It was practically a dead school; some accounts say that it had declined to three pupils. Butler was an accomplished scholar and a magnificent teacher. Through his inspiring headmastership, Shrewsbury turned out many scholars who were a signal success at the universities. Although he was a great believer in the Classics, he encouraged his boys to read widely in private, and his teaching was of a kind that he "certainly did succeed in making us believe that Latin and Greek were the only things worth living for." In the days when examinations, even at the universities, were a farce, Butler instituted regular examinations in the school and got to

know his boys and their capabilities. He was a great believer in the competitive spirit and spent much time in making out order-of-merit lists from which he could ascertain which pupils were worthy of "merit" money.

Although he was a quick-tempered man, he thoroughly understood boys. He tried to break down the barrier between boys and masters and, unlike Keate, he trusted boys. The great Charles Darwin was one of his pupils. In spite of Butler's skill and enthusiasm, Darwin did not take kindly to Classics. He was interested in chemistry and in collecting minerals and insects. He tells us that because of his interest in chemistry he was nicknamed "Gas" by his schoolfellows. Butler rebuked him for his interest in chemistry. In his autobiography, Darwin says, "Nothing could have been worse for my mind than this school, as it was strictly classical, nothing else being taught, except a little ancient geography and history. The school as a means of education to me was simply a blank. . . . The sole pleasure I ever received from such studies was from some of the odes of Horace, which I admired greatly."

Butler often tried to reason with his older boys, but he emphatically believed in flogging younger pupils, and he told parents that if they did not approve of his flogging small boys for idleness they could take their sons away from the school. In many ways Butler was limited by the traditions of the age in which he lived, but his strong and forceful personality raised Shrewsbury to the first rank of English schools.

The greater toleration of the 18th century allowed a few Roman Catholic schools to open. At first they were small institutions providing an elementary education. One of the best known was "Dame Alice's School," taught by Alice Harrison at Fernyhalgh in the Fylde. Pupils came not only from the district but even from Liverpool, Manchester, and London, and these were lodged in the neighbouring cottages. One of the most prosperous preparatory schools was at Twyford, where the poet Alexander Pope received his early schooling. He distinguished himself by writing lampoons on the master and even scratched one on the window. It is said that he was flogged for his escapade and left the school. Meanwhile the Catholic colleges on the Continent had continued with varying fortunes. Douai entered upon the most flourishing period of its existence, while the college at St. Omer had just begun to prosper when the order expelling the Jesuits from France was promulgated. The French Government intended to hand over the whole institution

to the secular clergy, but the Fathers and their pupils forestalled them by moving unexpectedly to Bruges which was then in Austrian territory. After the suppression of the Jesuits by Clement XIV the school sought refuge in Liège.

The two streams of Catholic education, that on the Continent and that in England, were brought together by the French Revolution. The thousands of refugees who fled to England had resulted in a great growth of tolerance, and when the Jesuits came to this country they were offered a home at Stonyhurst. The seculars had some difficulty in finding a permanent home, but in 1808 they were able to establish their college at Ushaw. The Benedictines opened a school at Ampleforth in 1806. The Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829 removed their difficulties with the exception of membership of the older universities.

CHAPTER IV

SCHOOL REFORM AND STATE INTERVENTION IN SECONDARY EDUCATION—1805-1895

The condition of the schools related in the previous chapter raised a whole crop of critics in the early 19th century. Their criticisms took two main directions; they were aimed either at the intellectual training provided by the schools, or at the moral effect of the schools upon the pupils.

The average educated Englishman of the time was not unduly worried about the restrictions resulting from a purely classical curriculum. The real criticism sprang from the radical reformers and, although at first based on educational grounds, it began to be mixed up with the views of the opposing political parties. The Edgeworths believed that even if the Classics were efficiently taught, the school which confined itself to these studies was on the wrong lines. Jeremy Bentham and his followers objected to the way in which Latin was taught and the amount of time spent in learning it, which they thought could be spent more profitably in studying politics or law or science. Cobbett, as one might expect, complained of the bookish, unreal character of the education given the schools and preferred to educate his own children at home. Writers of this school of thought contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* and *Westminster Review*, the leading Liberal periodicals of the country. The former started the attack in 1809 by criticising the devotion of the schools to Latin and Greek and called for the inclusion of modern studies, languages, geography, mathematics, chronology, and experimental philosophy. In 1810, the *Review* turned its attention to the moral aspect and Sidney Smith, himself an old Winchester scholar, violently attacked Winchester, Eton, Charterhouse, and all similar schools, charging them with tyrannical control of their boys. Bullying and fagging were the particular aspects selected by the critics. In 1830, the *Edinburgh Review* returned to the attack and speaking of Eton in particular, said, "The most precious years are spent, not in filling the mind with solid knowledge; not in training it to habits of correct and patient thought; but in a course of half-studious idleness, of which the only lasting trace is the recollection of misspent time." The renewed attack was more prolonged than its predecessor, very largely because the

unrest of the period of the Reform Bill displayed itself in the criticism of all accepted institutions. The Fellows at the public schools were compared with the rotten boroughs which had been destroyed by the Reform Act. The masters were called aristocratic dunces and it was asserted that at Eton, "the most celebrated public school of England," a boy's classical studies were a complete failure because he was never trained to appreciate the literature of Greece and Rome. He was confined to the study of a wretched textbook of selections and an even worse grammar book. The consequence was that the boy left school absolutely ignorant of mathematics, science, modern languages, and history. Unfortunately, party politics obtruded into the controversy, as it has done many times since, and there was a tendency for the Liberals to lose sight of the educational ends for which they stood.

The *Westminster Review* spoke of the aristocrat as a slave to the institutions which fashioned him. "They render him as much as possible an instrument of misery, both to himself and to his fellow-beings." The *Quarterly Journal of Education* compared the tone of Eton to the morals of the corrupt court of Charles II and Louis XV. The general conclusions of the opponents of the public schools were that these institutions were so hopelessly bad that it was not possible to reform them and suggested that experiments should be tried out in other types of school.

During this controversy, the attackers were met by a spirited defence which became identified with the Conservative party, just as the attack was due to the Liberals. In 1821, a Bill was presented to Parliament, to undo the effects of Lord Eldon's decision in the Leeds Grammar School case and to allow English, writing, and accounts to be included in the curriculum of the grammar schools. The Bill was rejected largely due to the opposition of Vicesimus Knox, who published a treatise entitled, *Remarks on the Tendency of Certain Classes in a Bill now pending in Parliament to Degrade Grammar Schools*. In this he put up a vigorous defence of the grammar schools. In another of his works, *Liberal Education*, 1791, he had argued that the present system in the public schools was good because it had grown up as the result of the experience of many generations. Canning declared that without her public schools England would never have reached the position she now held, for it was due to the schools and the universities that the great men of the past had received the training which enabled them to fill the prominent positions in Church and State so successfully. As

the controversy became more acrimonious the political sympathies of the opponents became the more obvious.

The Nonconformists, who had been allowed to enter the teaching profession in 1779, although still excluded from the universities and public schools, might have been expected to carry on the traditions of the academies of the 17th century, but they did not rise to the opportunity. When the Congregationalists opened Mill Hill in 1807, it was modelled very largely on public school lines but its curriculum included mathematics and other subjects. Thus French was taught by a Frenchman; drawing, English reading, history and geography, though included, were given a very small place in the time-table. The Society of Friends founded a number of schools at this time and Bootham School, York, opened in 1823, showed signs of a desire to break away from a purely classical curriculum. Mathematics and English were studied and some attention was given to geography. The school also possessed an observatory. The most interesting experiment was that conducted at Hazelwood, near Birmingham, in 1819, by Thomas Wright Hill and his three sons. Rowland, who introduced the penny post, Matthew Davenport the reformer of the Criminal Code, and Arthur. Later the school was moved to Bruce Castle, Tottenham. At first the experiment was a great success. Hill was influenced by the educational ideas of Pestalozzi and his plan was remarkable for the breadth of the curriculum and the scheme of self-government adopted in the school.

The Hills tried to avoid the harsh methods of obtaining class order that were usual in the older schools and sought to enlist the co-operation of the pupils through interest. Plenty of freedom was allowed the pupils in the choice of subjects for study and the scheme of self-government adopted was based on a written constitution. Offenders were tried and awarded punishment by the boys themselves and, in order to foster a sense of responsibility, older pupils were allotted important duties in connection with the running of the school. In addition to Classics, spelling, parsing, shorthand, geography, and mathematics, were taught. Special attention was given to French, and the boys of the top class were taught geography by the French master in French. The physical aspects of education were not neglected and visiting masters taught fencing, dancing, and music. Boys were trained in gymnastics and swimming and those who had a practical bent were encouraged to choose such activities as art and music, map-making, surveying, and printing. At first

school attracted much attention. Then public interest began to flag and it became almost forgotten. Adamson speaks of the 1840s, "as illustrating the neglect into which the ideas of English schoolmasters have sometimes been allowed to fall, until they have been revived as sheer novelties under a foreign cachet."¹ Its main historical importance lies in its influence upon Dr. Arnold. The most complete failure of the scheme was due to two factors. One was the innate conservatism of the average Englishman of the middle classes, who, however much he might grumble and demand change, desired one that was much more moderate and which did not involve a complete break with the past. Another cause of the decline in interest was the distrust that the average Englishman has of theory. The scheme of the Hills was based upon scientific principles derived from the theories of Pestalozzi and the work of Edgeworths, and of Bell and Lancaster. It is generally true to say that the reforms in secondary education in the 19th century were due in no small measure to the work and personality of great schoolmasters like James and Butler and, later, Arnold and Thring. Thring achieved a reform which was permanent but which was not thought about by their high ideals, force, and earnestness of character, rather than by their views about the nature of public school education.

Dr. Arnold's work at Rugby has been described by many writers, some who hold him up as the ideal schoolmaster, and others who, writing in a later period, are severely critical.² Much that was once attributed to him as original is now recognised as being derived from other sources, but when due allowance has been made for the limitations which were a consequence of his upbringing and of the environment in which he lived, there is no doubt that he was instrumental in winning the prestige which the public schools of this country now enjoy. There is no space in a work of this size and character to dwell upon the details of Arnold's career, but certain aspects of his life were so important an influence that they cannot be passed over.

Thomas Arnold was a pupil of Winchester when the distinguished Dr. Goddard was headmaster. The latter exercised considerable influence upon his pupil and many of the ideas which he put into practice at Rugby were the result of his early years

[1] W. Adamson. *English Education, 1789-1902*, p. 51, C.U.P., 1930.
[2] e.g. Strachey in *Eminent Victorians*, and Bertrand Russell in *Education and the Good Life*.

at Winchester. From the College, Arnold passed to Corpus Christi, Oxford, where he gained a great reputation as a scholar, being placed in the first class in *Litterae Humaniores* in 1814, and winning successively the Vice-Chancellor's prizes for Latin and English Essays. He was elected a Fellow of Oriel and after his ordination and marriage settled at Laleham in Middlesex where he undertook private tutoring for some years. While at Laleham, the headmastership at Rugby fell vacant in 1828 and Arnold's candidature was warmly supported by the Provost of Oriel who wrote, "If Arnold were elected, he would change the face of education all through the public schools of England." Rugby, at the time of Arnold's election, had grown, under the able administration of James, from a typical free grammar school to a large boarding school. It had been founded in 1567 by Lawrence Sheriff who had left some property in Middlesex to maintain, "a fair and convenient school-house at Rugby." From the very start, the non-local character of Rugby was emphasised and it developed as a boarding rather than a day school. A few years before Arnold's election, the school buildings had been considerably enlarged. Arnold's reputation as a great schoolmaster was not due to his introduction of new methods of teaching nor to any attempt to widen the existing classical curriculum. Indeed, he firmly believed in the value of the Classics as a firm foundation for any educational system, but in his hands the traditional studies gained a new significance. He looked upon them as opportunities for giving a truly liberal education. He once wrote, "The knowledge of the past is valuable, because without it our knowledge of the present and of the future must be scanty: but if the knowledge of the past be confined wholly to itself: if instead of being made to bear upon things around us, it be totally isolated from them and so disguised by vagueness and misapprehension as to appear incapable of illustrating them, then indeed it becomes little better than laborious trifling, and they who declaim against it may be fully forgiven." The Classics were for Arnold the vehicle by means of which history, literature, philosophy, geography, ethics, and politics could be taught. He believed that, "Every lesson in Greek or Latin may or ought to be made a lesson in English: the translation of every sentence in Demosthenes or Tacitus is properly an exercise in extemporaneous English composition: a problem how to express with equal brevity, clearness, and force in our own language, the thought which the original author has so admirably expressed in his." Dean Stanley, who was

one of his pupils, tells us that his lessons remained as ever-living memories to those who heard them.

"A black cloud was on his brow when he spoke of Tiberius or Augustus or Napoleon, of the soulless Epicureanism of Horace or the coarseness of Juvenal; and few of his pupils have lost his enthusiasm for the often misrepresented and vilified Cicero, or for the best and holiest of kings, St. Louis of France." Ancient history was not merely ancient history when taught by Arnold. He thought of it as a means of bringing home to his Rugby boys those great lessons in citizenship which mean so much to our modern English civilisation. Modern history was employed in much the same way. It was not, however, as a teacher that Arnold became a lasting influence in English public school tradition. As an administrator he was greater still. The evils of public school life mentioned in the previous chapter were to be found at Rugby, but Arnold was distinguished as an administrator by his possession of that most precious gift of tact. He realised that he could not transform the school all at once and was content to move slowly but surely, building upon what was good in public school life rather than introducing revolutionary changes. He found fagging a universal custom, but instead of abolishing it he made use of it.

The introduction of the prefect system was not Arnold's invention, though some have spoken as though it was. At Eton in Elizabeth's time, Praepostors had been responsible for a good deal of the daily routine work of the College. Westminster and St. Paul's had also used older boys for a similar purpose. Charterhouse at the beginning of the century had adopted a monitorial plan based on that of Bell and Lancaster. It was Arnold's own experience at Winchester under Goddard that influenced him most. Goddard had used his older scholars to help in disciplining the younger and although he did not organise the system in the way that Arnold did, yet the root principle was there. Arnold built up his system partly upon the institution of fagging, partly upon the prestige enjoyed by the VIth Form. He once told the VIth, "I want you to feel how enormous is the influence you possess here on all below you." On another occasion he said, "You should feel like officers in the army whose want of moral courage would be thought cowardice. When I have confidence in the VIth, there is no post in England for which I would exchange this; but if they do not support me, I must go." Unlike Keate, Arnold's attitude to a boy was, "If you say so, that is quite enough for me, of course I take your word." Eventually

the tradition grew that it was a shame to tell Arnold a lie because he always believed it. Arnold's conception of a great school was essentially a Christian one, but unlike some people with high ideals he could be absolutely ruthless if the occasion and his duty demanded it. One boy whom he considered had a bad influence upon the rest was expelled immediately. He told the school, "It is not necessary that this should be a school for 300 or even 100 boys, but it is necessary that it should be a school of Christian gentlemen." Like Butler, he made use of the rod, but he never punished a boy unless his fault was a moral one. Arnold attached tremendous importance to the influence wielded by his prefects and he took great pains in choosing them. Any abuse of their powers was severely reprimanded, but when their powers of giving punishment were questioned he gave them strong support. He held regular meetings of the prefects and discussed with them measures to raise the general tone of the school. Speaking of his use of the prefects, he said, "He, therefore, who wishes really to improve public education would do well to direct his attention to this point and to consider how there can be infused into a society of boys such elements as, without being too dissimilar to coalesce thoroughly with the rest, shall yet be so superior as to raise the character of the whole. It would be absurd to say that any school has as yet fully solved this problem. I am convinced, however, that, in the peculiar relation of the highest form to the rest of the boys, such as it exists in our great public schools, there is to be found the best means of answering it. This relation requires in many respects to be improved in its character; some of its features should be softened, others elevated; but here, and here only, is the engine which can affect the end desired."

Again, "Those who having risen to the highest form in the school, will probably be at once the oldest and the strongest and the cleverest; and if the school be well ordered, the most respectable in application and general character." Arnold's prefect system has since his day been introduced into countless schools, but it has only been a success when inspired by the same lofty ideals as its founder's. Where prefects have been regarded as a kind of police force for the headmaster and the staff, the system has met with a well-deserved failure.

Perhaps Arnold's greatest influence was due to his truly Christian character and example. He thought of the school as a Christian community whose centre and inspiration was the school

chapel. His own sermons had a far-reaching effect on his listeners. Dean Stanley said, "I never heard or saw anything which gave me so strongly the idea of inspiration." They were not dogmatic, but rather expressed an earnest desire to apply the teaching of Christianity to the problems of the schoolboy in his everyday life. Arnold's work came to an end by his sudden death in 1842, but his influence lived on. Not only did it leave a permanent mark upon Rugby School, but his reputation spread to other schools through pupils and members of his staff who accepted posts in other institutions. Thus many great schools continued the Arnold tradition and the prestige of public schools became higher than ever before. This led to a demand for more schools of a similar character, and a feature of this period of the 19th century was the opening of a number of large proprietary schools, which to a large extent took the public schools as their model. The earlier schools of this type were day schools, such as the Liverpool Institute, 1825, King's College School, 1829, University College School, 1833, the City of London School, 1837, and the Liverpool College, 1840. It was due to Arnold's influence that the later schools were boarding schools. Amongst them were Cheltenham College, 1841, Marlborough College, 1843, Rossall School, 1844, Wellington College, 1853, Epsom College, 1855, Haileybury College and Clifton College, 1862; Malvern School, 1863, and Bath College, 1867. These schools were less expensive than the large public schools and although their curriculum was mainly classical, yet in most of them considerable time was given to mathematics, science, and modern languages.

Canon Woodard founded the schools of the Woodard Foundation to provide Church of England public schools at a cost which would appeal to each of the three classes of the community likely to make use of them: Lancing for the sons of the gentry, Hurstpierpoint for the wealthier sections of the middle classes, and Ardingly for the lower middle class. Within a comparatively short space of time most of these schools reached a standard of public esteem not far below that of the older schools.

While Arnold was busy in transforming the life at Rugby the controversy about the public and grammar schools was still continuing. One of the bitterest of the critics of the public schools was M. J. Higgins, who had been at Eton for a short time. He chose his old school as his special target. Higgins has been described as a genial giant in appearance but possessed of a most bitter tongue. He turned his energies to contributing articles attacking

Eton to the periodicals, especially the *Cornhill Magazine*. Writing under the pseudonyms of "Mother of Seven" and later as "Pater-familias" he wrote letters couched in bitter invective attacking the public schools in general and Eton in particular, and charging them with every fault imaginable. At the same time, Sir John T. Coleridge gave a lecture on Eton at Tiverton in 1860, and in the course of his address criticised the College along the same lines but in a far more reserved fashion than Higgins. The *Edinburgh Review* and the *Westminster Review*, on behalf of the Liberal party, once more joined in the attack, and the torrent of criticism, invective, and abuse, brought about a crisis. The Government realised that something had to be done, and in 1861 a Royal Commission, usually known as the Clarendon Commission because of its chairman, Lord Clarendon, was appointed to investigate the matter. Other members of the Commission were Lord Devon, Lord Lyttelton, the Hon. E. Twistleton, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. H. H. Vaughan, and the Rev. W. H. Thompson. The public schools complained that they were inadequately represented on the Commission but the results of the inquiry do not show any antagonism on the part of the Commissioners. The field of reference of the Commission was to inquire "into the nature of the endowments, funds, and revenues belonging to or received by" a selected number of schools and colleges. It was also to inquire into "the Revenues and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools, and the studies pursued and instruction given there." The Commission pursued its work for three years and issued its report in 1864. Nine schools were chosen for the inquiry: Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury. All of these except St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors' were boarding schools. Other important schools such as the newer proprietary schools and Uppingham, already being made famous by Thring, were omitted.

The original intention of the Commissioners was to examine the schools themselves, but this raised a storm of protest. Only two of the schools allowed them to enter. The schools were very jealous of their autonomy and they feared that to allow the Commissioners into them would be a step towards further Government interference. This attitude forced the Commissioners to adopt other methods of obtaining information. They addressed questionnaires to the headmasters, interviewed witnesses, and obtained the opinions of persons who had special knowledge of

public school education. The Commissioners reflected the views of the time and, with certain modifications, upheld the classical curriculum. They were very impressed by the Prussian Gymnasium with its idea of a general liberal education. The Gymnasium in Prussia corresponded to the public school of England in that it aimed at educating boys for the universities and the learned professions. It was due to the work of von Humboldt, who was the chief of the Prussian Bureau of Education, 1808-10. Humboldt was a distinguished classical scholar who saw the value of blending the humanistic aims of the classical world with the ideals of the modern. Accordingly, he thought of Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and German, as the main subjects of the curriculum but other studies and accomplishments, he thought, should find a place in school instruction. Thus, some time would be given to history, geography, natural science, religious instruction, drawing, and writing. Hebrew and modern languages were regarded as optional subjects.

The Commissioners therefore were in agreement with the main classical courses provided by the schools, but they considered that the curriculum lacked breadth and flexibility. The teaching of the Classics to the abler pupils was on the whole good, but the average pupil left school with a very low standard in classical knowledge, and an even lower one in English, arithmetic, mathematics, and general knowledge. Far too many boys left school at 19 who could not construe a simple passage in Latin or Greek without the assistance of a dictionary, almost ignorant of the history and geography of their own country, of modern languages, having great difficulty in writing correct English, unable to work the simplest example in arithmetic or an easy rider in Euclid, knowing nothing of physical science, and never having had any practice in drawing or acquaintance with music. In such cases their intellectual education must be considered a failure, though their principles, character, and manners might be everything that could be desired. "Of the time spent at school by the generality of boys, much is absolutely thrown away as regards intellectual progress either from ineffective teaching, from the continued teaching of subjects in which they cannot advance, or from idleness, or from a combination of these causes."¹

¹ *Report of the Public Schools Commission*, Vol. I, p. 26.

In spite of recent improvements, the Commissioners felt that modern languages, mathematics, history, and geography, still held an unimportant place in the curriculum because too little time was devoted to them and they were not counted for promotion. They pointed out that this was a very serious defect because a large number of men who have little aptitude or taste for literary subjects may show considerable interest and ability in science, especially if it deals with external and sensible objects. The fact that due weight was not given to modern subjects, mathematics, and science, was not altogether the fault of the schools. It was difficult to obtain good teachers of these subjects. This was especially true in the case of modern languages. The choice lay between English teachers whose knowledge was imperfect or foreigners who had difficulty in controlling their classes. The situation with regard to history was equally difficult and the opinion expressed by Dr. Moberly, Headmaster of Winchester, is well known: "I wish we could teach more history but as to teaching it in set lessons I should not know how to do it."

On the constructive side the Commission was influenced by the practice of the Prussian Gymnasium. The Commissioners recommended that the classical languages and literature should remain the chief studies of the schools, and emphasised that the main advantage in learning the Classics was to gain a greater command over the English language. In addition every boy ought to be taught arithmetic and mathematics, at least one modern language (French or German), one of the natural sciences, and either music or drawing. He should also leave school with a general knowledge of ancient history, have some acquaintance with modern history, and a command of pure grammatical English. When they reached the higher classes, it was recommended that those pupils who wished might be allowed to spend less time on the Classics and more on mathematics, modern languages, and science. On the other hand some pupils might desire to specialise more fully in Classics. The Commissioners spoke very highly of the work of the public schools in training character, in inculcating a love of healthy sport and exercise, and in fitting pupils both to control themselves and to govern others.

As regards administration, the Commissioners recommended the reconstitution of the governing bodies of the schools, the defining of the powers of the headmaster, and adequate representation of the assistant masters on the school councils.

The Report was followed by the Public Schools Act of 1868, which completely ignored the recommendations of the Commissioners as regards curriculum and confined itself to administrative matters. It was felt by the Government that the inquiry had caused sufficient resentment and that reforms had better be left to the good sense of the schools themselves rather than be the subject of further Government intervention. The Act ordered the schools either to accept a constitution framed by the Commissioners or to draw up one for their approval. The new governing bodies were to include members nominated by the universities and the learned societies.¹ They were to possess considerable powers in fixing the amount of school fees, the number of pupils, and determining the curriculum and the kind of religious instruction to be given. The headmaster was to be appointed by the governing body and he should have the power of appointing and dismissing the assistants. The two day schools, St. Paul's and Merchant Taylors', were left out of this scheme.

The Liberals were furious that the rest of the recommendations were not included in the Act and fought tooth and nail against what they described as "one of the most delusive and reactionary measures ever put before the country." They urged the inspection of public schools, to be met with the reply that to adopt Government inspection "would be to degrade the great public schools of England down to the level of village schools." The Government was probably wise not to press for further intervention but to leave the schools to put their own houses in order. The autonomy of the schools was saved and in the following years many of the recommendations of the Commission were adopted and the curriculum became more varied and flexible. Thus at Eton, Dr. Hornby introduced teaching in French and German, history, physics, chemistry, and zoology, and boys who were in the upper forms were given considerable choice in selecting the subjects they wished to study. Similar changes were brought about in the other schools.

The Clarendon Commission focused attention upon secondary education as a whole and as a natural consequence the Schools

¹ For example, the governing body of Charterhouse was to consist of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a member elected from each of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, one nominated by the Royal Society, one by the Lord Chancellor, one by the Lord Chief Justice, one elected by the headmaster and assistant masters, three by the Governors of Sutton's Hospital, and four co-opted members.

Inquiry Commission of 1864, generally known as the Taunton Commission, was appointed. The object of the Commission was to inquire into the education given in those schools which had been included neither in the Clarendon Commission nor the Inquiry into Popular Education conducted by the Newcastle Commission, "and also to consider and report what Measures (if any) are required for the Improvement of such Education, having especial Regard to all Endowments applicable, or which can rightly be made applicable thereto."

The inquiry lasted four years and the report was issued in 1868. It was an exhaustive investigation of every type of secondary education and no pains were spared to make the report as complete and accurate as possible. Girls' as well as boys' schools were included, private and proprietary schools as well as endowed schools. The inquiry was conducted along three main lines: the oral examination of witnesses (religious denominations, examining bodies, representatives of the professions, school masters and mistresses, the legal profession, and any other persons having a special knowledge of or interest in education), circulars of questions seeking for written information in detail from the school authorities, and finally, through assistant-commissioners, who personally investigated certain selected districts. Among the assistant-commissioners were J. G. Fitch and James Bryce. In order to obtain a comparison with the methods and results of the systems of education in some parts of Europe, Canada, and the U.S.A., Matthew Arnold was sent to inquire into secondary education in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, and the Rev. James Fraser, afterwards Bishop of Manchester, performed a similar task in regard to the United States and Canada. Information about Scotland was obtained by an inspection of the schools in nine cities and towns by Mr. Fearon.

The work of the assistant-commissioners revealed an astounding state of affairs. The provision of secondary education was hopelessly inadequate, especially in the large centres of population. One of the districts selected for special study was the West Riding of Yorkshire and the report of Mr. (later Sir) J. G. Fitch was typical of the situation.¹ The inset map facing this page shows clearly the uneven distribution of secondary schools.

In 1861, the population of the West Riding and the city of York was 1,548,229 and it was estimated that the number of boys

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, pp. 1 to 423.

who should be receiving education above the primary stage was 20,533. The actual number in attendance at the endowed schools was 1,836 and Fitch recorded that in no instance was the available school accommodation fully occupied. Large towns, such as Huddersfield, did not possess an endowed school and its inhabitants relied on private and proprietary schools. The number of grammar schools in the area was given by the Charity Commissioners as 65, and of these five had ceased to exist. Of the remaining 60 schools, only 29 gave some kind of classical education. The rest were in reality rather inefficient elementary schools. "Of the fact of the general decadence of the endowed grammar schools within the country there can be no doubt. These schools are not popular; they do not possess the confidence of the parents . . . the class of parents whose children may be presumed to stay long enough at school to make any use of Latin, and who are above the status of the labouring poor, generally prefer private schools; and that while these are numerous and well attended, the old foundations, with all their historical prestige and their wealth, do not attract the classes for whom they are intended." ¹

In the whole of the Riding, "There are three grammar schools . . . which are conspicuously in advance of all the rest in numbers and reputation. They are St. Peter's in York, Leeds, and Doncaster. These Schools lay themselves out for higher education, and their curriculum is designed to prepare boys for the universities. All are under the care of accomplished and energetic men, are increasing in numbers, and are obtaining distinction at the universities." ² There were a large number of reasons to account for the decay of the endowed schools. In the country towns the governing bodies had become nothing less than a small group of self-elected trustees who seldom met and who took insufficient interest in matters which concerned the schools. They had little control over the headmaster, who in turn had a minimum of control over his assistants.

In the large towns the trustees often had many other duties which limited the time they could spend on the affairs of the schools. Sometimes the statutes required that the headmaster should be a clergyman, so that many competent teachers could not obtain promotion. "In another school in the district, the masterships are held by two clergymen, who have not been on speaking terms for fifteen years. Each of these gentlemen took me privately aside to

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 109.

² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

assure me that the other was not to be trusted, and that it was impossible to work harmoniously with him. The headmaster accounted for the ignorance of the upper forms by complaining of the stupidity of the methods adopted in the lower classes, methods over which he, the headmaster, had no sort of control. The usher, on the other hand, assigned as a reason for the worthlessness of his own teaching, that it was of no use to prepare them for a course so absurd and useless as was pursued in the upper classes.”¹

Most of the schools had been free schools, but nearly all of them were now charging fees under some pretext or other. On the plea that the endowment was for Latin and Greek only, all other subjects had to be paid for. “The absurdest results follow from such arrangements as these. In one case I have seen a class of children, including some of nine or ten years of age, painfully employed in reading all day, and wholly unable to use a pencil or a pen, because their parents did not choose to pay the writing fee. In another there are children who reach a still greater age without ever receiving an exercise in arithmetic, for a similar reason. . . . Not infrequently, when questioning the highest class of a school on geography, or history, or on grammar, I have noticed a number of children preserve a dead silence, and on inquiring further, have learned that these were the pupils who did not pay for the particular subject, and therefore did not learn it.”² In some schools an invidious distinction was made between the foundation scholars and those who paid fees. “At Easingwold, I found a school along the middle of which was a partition breast high, dividing the scholars into two groups. The master’s desk was fixed in an elevated position and dominated both divisions of the school. He explained to me that the free scholars were on one side and the paying scholars on the other. He had erected the partition, he said, in defence of his own interests, for unless he kept the two classes of pupils—the ‘sheep and the goats,’ as he familiarly called them—habitually apart, the more respectable parents would object to pay, and perhaps remove their children altogether. I learned that while he was bound to admit a certain number of free scholars, it had been his custom to receive others on the footing of private pupils, and that even in the playground there was no intercourse between them.”³

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 132.

² *Ibid.*, p. 144.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

The best schools worked to gain university scholarships, and their curriculum was exclusively classical. Some of them had created English departments "At Leeds there is an English department or lower school in which a reduced fee of £41 4s. 0d. per annum is charged. There are, at present, 50 boys in it, the room being adapted for double that number. The boys constitute an entirely distinct school, receiving no lessons in common with those of the classical school. They learn a little Latin; and French is also well taught by the master, who is a clergyman, and has resided some years in France. He has entire charge of the school, and is unassisted, except by a writing and arithmetic master, who gives lessons for certain hours in the week. . . It is evident that an English department, thus constituted, has not a fair chance of success, and does not correspond to the needs of such a town as Leeds or to the resources and prestige of the great school of which it forms a part. It is impossible to have proper organisation in a school composed of 50 boys of all ages under one master" ¹

Even in those grammar schools which had retained Latin and Greek the teaching was of poor quality. "On the whole, the classical learning prescribed by statute in the large majority of the grammar schools may be safely pronounced a delusive and unfruitful thing. It is given to very few in any form. It is not carried to any substantial issue in the case of five per cent. of the scholars. It is more often taught to keep up a show of obedience to founders' wills than for any better reason. It is so taught in the majority of cases that it literally comes to nothing. Finally, it furnishes the pretext for the neglect of all other useful learning, and is the indirect means of keeping down the general level of education in every small town which is so unfortunate as to possess an endowment." ²

Small and old grammar schools were handicapped by the conditions of their buildings. Some had no playgrounds and were without proper apparatus. "Maps and diagrams are rare, and blackboards rarer still. In all proper equipment and teaching apparatus the average grammar school is so deficient that an inspector under the Privy Council would generally withhold the grant on the ground that the room was insufficiently furnished. . . . Any money spent on improving the school fittings is necessarily deducted from the master's stipend, and therefore he has the

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 168.

² *Ibid*, p. 176.

strongest inducement to acquiesce in a state of things which otherwise he would think very unsatisfactory. Bare and dirty walls, shabby and inconvenient furniture, and outer offices which are not even decent, are rather the rule than the exception ” ¹

The teaching of the subjects outside the Classics was generally bad. Very little attention was given to oral reading which “is almost always slovenly, indistinct and tasteless.” Arithmetic was taught in a formal and unintelligent manner. In most schools, very little attention was given to the study of English. Only rarely did physical science form any part of the curriculum. “It is excluded from the course of instruction in schools, because it was excluded from the education of the masters, who naturally think that alone to be worth knowing which they themselves know.” ² There are a few exceptions. “Leeds is the only grammar school in which I have found a resolute and systematic attempt to teach science. Here there is an excellent laboratory and a class is well drilled in chemical manipulation and analysis ” ³ Even here, chemistry was taught rather because of its value to those boys entering the woollen industry than as a branch of liberal education.

No adequate system of examinations existed to test the work of the schools. It is true that the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations and those of the College of Preceptors existed, but they tested a few selected individuals rather than the school as a whole.

Fitch only found one endowed school which had retained its grammar school status and which admitted girls. This was at Rishworth, but although there were 55 boys and 15 girls at the school, the boys remained until 15 years of age and were prepared for the universities, but the girls were required to give up their schooling at 14. “It does not offer even to one of these girls, though some of them are the children of professional men, and all of persons in a respectable position, the opportunity of qualifying herself as a governess or of proceeding to a place of higher education ” ⁴

The Commissioners found but 12 other schools in England where girls were admitted. It was only when a grammar school sank to the status of a primary school that it catered for girls. Thirty-five of the West Riding schools were merely primary schools and poor ones at that. “In regard to school appliances, as well as

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 177.

² *Ibid.*, p. 181.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

in organisation, method, and intelligence, the smaller endowed schools are generally inferior to National Schools. Nevertheless, their existence hinders the establishment of such National Schools, and thus deprives many towns and villages altogether of proper elementary teaching; of the advantages of inspection, and of the sympathy and experience of persons who would otherwise subscribe and feel an interest in the progress of the scholars.”¹

Fitch concluded that only three schools were in the first class. Doncaster, Leeds, and St. Peter's, York. Three others might be developed to become such, Ripon, Sheffield, and Giggleswick or Sedbergh. He did not think there was room for both the latter schools. “Giggleswick is the richer; it is more central, and it is in a far more hopeful condition, whether we consider the state of its buildings, its staff of teachers, or the zeal and intelligence of its governing body. It is not too much to hope that it may one day become for the North of England what Rugby is to the Midland districts. As to Sedbergh, I despair of putting it into any class at all. In its present state it simply cumberes the ground.”² Fitch was right about Giggleswick, but he had gravely misjudged Sedbergh, as those who know the splendid work done at the latter school can testify.

Twenty-six other schools, he considered, might be developed into good schools of the second class. Among these were the schools at Bradford, Rotherham, Sheffield, and Wakefield, and Archbishop Holgate's at York. The remainder he thought were unfit to be secondary schools. “Their only hope of usefulness lies in the acceptance of their position as primary schools, and in arrangements which will enable them to do that work well.”³

Among the private and proprietary schools, more than 10,000 in number scattered throughout England, the Commissioners found a few that were really excellent, but the general condition of the private schools was most unsatisfactory. They reported that “the account given of the worst of the endowed schools must be repeated in even more emphatic language to describe most of the private schools.”⁴

The proprietary schools were of recent origin and included many first-class schools giving special attention to mathematics and modern languages, others were second-class boarding schools for

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol IX, p. 199.

² *Ibid.*, p. 214.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 285.

the sons of farmers; some had developed from Mechanics' Institutes, like the Leeds Boys' Modern School, founded in 1845; others were schools erected by religious denominations, such as Woodhouse Grove, near Bradford, founded by the Wesleyans, the Congregational School of Silcoates, near Wakefield, the Friends' Schools of Ackworth and Bootham, York, and the Jews' College at Finsbury. A few schools were founded in the interests of certain professions, such as Epsom, opened for the sons of medical men. Some of the schools had been a failure and others had become endowed like Marlborough College, the Woodard Schools, and Bradfield College. "The educational character of proprietary schools stands very high. Some of them rank with the most famous of the Grammar Schools as places of preparation for the Universities; and the military and civil department of Cheltenham College is equally distinguished in the competition for admissions to Woolwich" ¹

Mr. Bryce spoke highly of the Roman Catholic College at Stonyhurst, "Its teaching is avowedly directed to bring every boy up to a certain level rather than to raise a few to a very high pitch of excellence." ²

Although Fitch condemned most of the Yorkshire private schools, he admitted, "I have wholly failed to discover any example of the typical Yorkshire boarding-school with which Dickens' *Nicholas Nickleby* has made us familiar. I have seen schools in which board and education were furnished for 20*l*., and even 18*l*. per annum, but have been unable to find evidence of bad feeding or physical neglect." ³

The Commission paid great attention to the reports of the assistant-commissioners who were sent to other countries. Fraser reported that the New England high schools could not compare with our best schools, but the Americans are well supplied with secondary schools of a lower grade. "Whatever be the defects of the system, it has the one great merit of being alive. The teachers have the gift of turning what they know to the best account; they are very self-possessed, energetic, fearless; they are admirable disciplinarians, firm without severity, patient without weakness, their manner of teaching is lively and fertile in illustration; classes are not likely to fall asleep in their hands. . . . They fall short of Prussia in completeness and culture. But they seem to have succeeded in supplying every citizen with as much education as is

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. I, p. 318.

² *Ibid*, p. 321.

³ *Op cit*, Vol IX, p. 262.

indispensable for the ordinary duties of life, and in opening to him the door for more if he desire it.”¹

Matthew Arnold's description of Prussian secondary education produced the greatest impression. The Commissioners reported: “When we view it as a whole, the Prussian system appears to be at once the most complete and the most perfectly adapted to its people of all that now exist. It is not wanting in the highest cultivation like the American, nor in dealing with the mass of middle classes like our own, nor does it run any risk of sacrificing everything else to intellectual proficiency like the French. It is somewhat more bureaucratic in its form than would work well in England, but it is emphatically not a mere centralised system, in which the government is everything. . . . In Prussia the education department is simply the instrument which the people use to procure the fulfilment of their own desires. The Prussians believe in culture, and who may have originally created the educational machinery, that machinery has now been appropriated by the people themselves. . . . The result is an unrivalled body of teachers, schools meeting every possible need of every class, and a highly cultivated people.”²

The Commission then outlined the organisation of the Prussian system of secondary education. The highest grade of school was the *Gymnasium*, which was more like our best classical schools than any other schools in Europe, or indeed in the world. Below these were the *Realschulen*, which existed in three grades. The first grade provided a nine years' course, without Greek, but with compulsory Latin. Special attention was given to French, mathematics, and natural science, and English was compulsory for boys entering business. In addition, the mother tongue, divinity, history, and drawing were taught, and in the school-leaving examination a boy had to pass in every subject. The second grade *Realschulen* provided a seven years' course so that a boy could leave school at 16. Latin was not obligatory. The third grade, or *Burgerschulen*, had a shorter and less complete course.

The recommendations of the Commission followed very sound lines. They were willing to learn from other countries but they felt that the system of secondary education adopted in England must have its roots in English institutions of the past and be suited to the English temper and character. “It would probably be both

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. I, p. 53

² *Ibid*, p. 72.

useless and impracticable to attempt simply to transplant into England systems that have flourished elsewhere. We have not the universal energy and restlessness of the Americans, nor the long training of the Scotch, nor the singular aptitude for organisation of the French, nor the strong belief in the value of culture which makes education so universal an object of desire in Prussia. But there is no reason why, if we cannot do precisely what our neighbours have done, we should not do something of a corresponding character. The wants of England are not exactly the same with those of America, France, or Prussia, nor even, where the wants are identical, will the proper means of supplying those wants always coincide. But without quitting the course usually observed in dealing with English institutions, we have no doubt that the right result in the matter of education may be defined now and reached hereafter."¹

The Commission believed that a national system of secondary education could alone be adequate and that the nucleus of this already existed in the shape of the present endowed schools, because of their long tradition and their public position. Hence, the first step should be to make the best possible use of the schools. They enunciated as a general principle that three grades of secondary school were necessary. This was based on the length of time that parents were willing to allow their children to attend school. From this point of view, schools could be classified according to whether the leaving age was 18 or 19, 16, or 14. These distinctions would correspond roughly to the social divisions in the nation. The majority of boys who needed a third grade course should have a day school adapted to their needs in the immediate neighbourhood. Those who needed a higher type of education would attend a high school in their district with a boarding attachment. In this system it would be necessary to establish preparatory schools for the higher grade secondary schools but there was no need for this provision for the third grade schools.

Special attention was directed to the curriculum of each grade, and vocational education was severely condemned. This did not imply the exclusion of practical subjects which, though useful in a vocational sense, could be made instruments for the general education of the intellect. The three main subjects in a liberal education were language, mathematics, and science, and the primacy

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol I, p. 22.

was given to language. "Nor is equal clearness of thought to be obtained in any other way. Clearness of thought is bound up with clearness of language, and the one is impossible without the other. When the study of language can be followed by that of literature, not only breadth and clearness, but refinement becomes attainable. The study of history in the full sense belongs to a somewhat later age; for till the learner is old enough to have some appreciation of politics, he is not capable of grasping the meaning of what he studies."¹

The Commissioners thought that Greek should only be taught in first grade schools. French or German or both should be taught and English literature and history should receive careful attention but would hold a subordinate position in the time-table. Science could be a valuable discipline if pupils began with those sciences which depended largely on observation, *e.g.* botany, and then progressed through physical geography to elementary physics and chemistry.

The Commissioners were seriously disturbed about the meagre facilities provided for the higher education of girls and they protested against the "long established and inveterate prejudice that girls are less capable of mental cultivation, and in less need of it than boys; that accomplishments, and what is showy and superficially attractive, are what is really essential for them; and in particular, that as regards their relations to the other sex and the probabilities of marriage, more solid attainments are actually disadvantageous rather than the reverse."² In forming their opinions about the education of girls, the Commissioners were greatly impressed by the evidence of Miss Buss and Miss Beale, of whom we shall hear more later.

Mr. Fearon summed up the situation by saying that "the appropriation of almost all the educational endowments of the country to the education of boys is felt by a large and increasing number, both of men and women, to be a cruel injustice."³ It was recommended that in the reorganisation of endowments, a fair share should be employed for the education of girls.

The recommendations of the Commission were very drastic. In the first place, the constitutions of the endowed schools would have to be thoroughly revised. In this revision, a school would not be treated as an isolated unit but would be considered in its

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. I, p. 546.

² *Ibid.*, p. 546.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 567.

relations to other schools in its area. New endowed schools should be created in areas where they were needed and all the schools should be placed under permanent supervision. To carry out these proposals new administrative machinery would be necessary. A central authority was the first requisite and this could best be supplied by an enlarged and reconstituted Charity Commission presided over by a Minister of Education. The Charity Commission should have power to make schemes for the reorganisation of endowed schools and submit them for approval to Parliament. It should appoint inspectors, audit the school accounts and convert all charities which are "mischievous, or intended for purposes now obsolete" to educational purposes. As the machinery for local administration did not exist, it would have to be created. The country would be divided into provinces corresponding to the divisions of the Registrar-General, and the Charity Commission would appoint an Official District Commissioner for each area. He would be one of the trustees for every educational trust and would personally inspect every secondary school at least once in every three years. Associated with him would be six or eight unpaid District Commissioners appointed by the Crown from the local residents. The District Commissioners would prepare schemes for all the schools in their districts and submit them to the Charity Commission. Towns with over 100,000 inhabitants could form their own boards if they wished.

The governing bodies of schools were to be reorganised. Besides the Official Commissioner, they should include representatives of parents, rate-payers, or various public bodies, and members co-opted from the original governors. The governors should be responsible for the school property, appoint or dismiss the headmaster, fix the salaries of the assistants, and have a certain amount of control over fees and the curriculum. The headmaster should have power to appoint and dismiss the assistant masters.

The creation of an examining council was recommended. It should consist of 12 members, two elected by each of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and six appointed by the Crown. The examination council would not only conduct examinations in the schools but should draw up rules and appoint examiners to examine and issue certificates to candidates for the teaching profession. "Lastly, the council would do a very great service to education by making an annual report, giving as complete

a picture as possible of what was being done, and of what is still needed to be done" ¹

The Commission decided that the idea of a free grammar school was obsolete and recommended a scale of fees according to the grade of the school, with a large number of scholarships awarded by competitive examination.

The Commissioners asserted that "the reorganisation of endowments is the beginning, but only the beginning, of a systematic provision of education above the elementary. When that beginning has been made, the largest part of the work will still have to be done." ² They had in mind the organisation of a national system of secondary education so that schools of different grades would be within reach of all classes of society. It seemed as though, at last, England was to possess a thoroughly well-organised system of secondary education, but it was not to be so. The time was not yet ripe and the opportunity created by the Schools Inquiry Commission was neglected. One reason, according to Matthew Arnold, was the prevalence of class interests. Probably a more potent influence was the almost universal mistrust of Government intervention, a legacy from the earlier part of the century. Another cause was one of administration; local authorities for the provision and administration of schools did not exist. It should be remembered that the School Boards did not come into existence until 1870, and the County Councils were not created until the Act of 1888. The Commissioners were distinctly ahead of their time. The majority of educated people, including the schoolmasters, had no very clear ideas about the aims and purposes of secondary education, but were, rather, bound by the tradition of the past. It needed nearly half a century before the goodwill of the people, for which the Commissioners pleaded, was to be obtained.

The immediate result of the Commission was the passage of the Endowed Schools Act of 1869, which put into operation some of the administrative proposals of the report. Mr. Forster introduced in the Commons a Bill embodying the recommendations about examinations and the setting up of a body for the registration of qualified teachers. It won general approval, but the rush of legislation compelled the Government to drop it.

The Government postponed the proposal to create local authorities for administration and occupied itself entirely with the

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol I, p 651.

² *Ibid*, p. 652

reorganisation of the central authority. This took the form of an Endowed Schools Commission created for three years only. In 1873, its life was prolonged for another year, and in 1874 its powers were merged with those of the Charity Commissioners.

This was partly due to the inconvenience of having two distinct bodies to deal with charitable trusts. The newly organised Charity Commission was not only concerned with secondary schools, but, after the Elementary Education Act of 1870, was busy with drawing up schemes for endowed elementary schools. This aroused considerable resentment and, by the Act of 1873, all elementary schools with an endowment of less than £100 per year were transferred to the jurisdiction of the Education Department. The seven public schools which were the subject of the Clarendon Commission's investigation were exempted from the control of the Charity Commission, also choristers' schools connected with cathedrals and those concerned with the professional training of ministers of religion. Schools founded after 1819 could be dealt with only by consent of their governors. With these exceptions, the Commission had power to prepare schemes for endowed schools. The usual procedure was to act on the invitation of the governors. If action were urgent, they could prepare their own scheme, but in such a case the governors, the corporation, or 20 rate-payers, had the right to petition Parliament against the action of the Commission.

The work of the Commission went on slowly. By 1884, only half the work was accomplished; 595 schemes had become law but 660 schools were still unaffected. Even as late as 1895, the Leeds Grammar School was not working under a revised scheme drawn up by the Commission, and Huddersfield possessed no secondary schools at all.

One important part of the work of the Commission was to apply many endowments, which had not specifically been designed by the founders for boys' schools, to establish girls' schools. "The Bradford Grammar School, for instance, in 1868 contained fifty-eight boys who were receiving a poor classical education in an atmosphere of 'general languor and feebleness.' 'I could see among the boys no evidence of interest in their work, or of desire to do it well.' Without adding any endowment, the new scheme was a means of transforming this institution into two schools of 530 boys and 300 girls, receiving the best education of the day. In

the ten years previous to 1871 it sent only five boys to the universities and gained only one scholarship. 'In the ten years previous to 1893 it sent 108 boys, took 73 scholarships, 44 first classes, 4 fellowships, and 10 university scholarships and prizes. And a vast proportion of those honours were taken by boys who had been in public elementary schools.'"¹

The Leeds Girls' High School is another example. The school was founded in 1876 through the efforts of the Yorkshire Ladies' Council of Education and the Leeds Ladies' Educational Association. The Leeds Girls' High School Company, Ltd., was formed with a nominal capital of £10,000. The aim of the company was "to establish and maintain a High Class Day School for the Girls of Leeds, which shall be to them what the Grammar School is to their brothers." In 1898 the Charity Commission turned its attention to the endowment of the Grammar School and decided that the term "young children, youths, and scholars" used by the founder included girls as well as boys. Hence, the Commission agreed to part of the Grammar School endowments being used for the education of girls. £12,000, and the interest upon it, was set aside to purchase the site on which the present school stands.

One feature of 19th century development in secondary education was the increasing attention given to the provision of high schools for girls. Very few schools existed in the 18th century for the education of girls. Well-to-do parents either employed governesses to train their daughters or sent them to private schools where the main instruction was in languages, deportment, and accomplishments. The movement to provide good secondary schools for girls was really part of the much wider movement for the emancipation of women and it began with the attempt to secure suitable training for governesses. About 1841 the Governesses' Benevolent Association was formed with the object of assisting private governesses who were in temporary difficulties. At first the Association did not make much headway until the Rev. David Laing accepted the post of honorary secretary. He at once set to work to reorganise the Association and added an employment agency and a teachers' registry. It was soon seen that many of the applicants were unfit for their work and it was proposed to award a diploma on the result of an examination. Professor Denison Maurice and his colleagues at King's College, London, volunteered

¹ Helen Wodehouse *A Survey of the History of Education*, p. 198, Edward Arnold, 1929.

to teach and examine women who wished to become governesses. In 1848, Queen's College, Harley Street, was opened for women and Professor Maurice became its first Principal. Miss Buss and Miss Beale were among the early students of the College. As Queen's College gave instruction according to Anglican principles, it was felt that a similar institution was needed for Nonconformists. In 1849, Mrs. John Reid founded the undenominational college in Bedford Square, which in 1860 became the Bedford College for Women, of which George Eliot was one of the students. Queen's College received its charter in 1853 and Bedford College in 1869. Miss Buss and Miss Beale were the pioneers of secondary education for girls in the 19th century. The former became Headmistress of the North London Collegiate School in 1850, and the latter Principal of the Ladies' College, Cheltenham, in 1858. The North London Collegiate School was mainly a day school and became the pattern on which the schools of the Girls' Public Day Schools Company modelled their schools. This company started in 1872 and opened its first school at Chelsea in 1873. By the end of the century, 33 schools had been built and provided high school education for more than 7,100 girls.

Another pioneer was Miss Emily Davies, who had been a member of the committee of Bedford College. She presented to the Taunton Commission a petition signed by 12 prominent women teachers urging that the foundation of a college for women connected with one of the ancient universities was the greatest educational need of the time. The petition was supported by prominent educationists, scientists and important figures in the worlds of literature, art, and politics. As a result, Miss Davies secured a house at Hitchin in 1869, and started off with six students. In 1873 the college removed to Girton, just outside Cambridge, and in 1880, Newnham College was established. In 1879 Somerville Hall and Lady Margaret Hall both started at Oxford, each with nine students. Miss Wordsworth, Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, opened St. Hugh's Hall in 1886 for 25 students who were not able to afford the high fees of Lady Margaret Hall.

Miss Beale, Miss Buss, and Miss Davies, were called as expert witnesses to give the Schools Inquiry Commission information about secondary education for girls. Another result of their work was the formation of educational associations of women in different parts of the country, such as the Yorkshire Ladies' Council of Education at Leeds, the Ladies' Educational Society at Liverpool,

and the National Union for improving the Education of Women in London. The work with private governesses was carried on by Miss Charlotte Mason in 1887 by the formation of the Parents' National Education Union, which later opened schools of its own.

Yet another consequence was the admission of girls to university examinations. They were allowed to sit for the Cambridge Local examinations in 1865. In 1862 Miss Garrett applied to sit for the London Matriculation. The Senate refused her request and it was not until 1869 that girls were admitted to the examinations of the University of London. Oxford opened its examinations to girls in 1870. The year 1880 saw women admitted as degree students in the University of London and the newly formed Victoria University of Manchester.

So far degrees were not open to women at the older universities, but in 1887, Miss Agnaton Ramsay, of Girton, was the only student at Cambridge to attain the first division of the first class in the classical tripos. This was followed by a memorial addressed to the Senate asking for the degree to be granted to women. The Senate refused and later, when Miss Fawcett of Newnham was placed before the Senior Wrangler in 1890, it again rejected the proposal to admit women to full membership of the University. Oxford rejected a similar memorial in 1896 by 215 votes to 140. Women were admitted to full membership at Oxford in 1920 and to full membership of the University of Cambridge from the Michaelmas Term, 1948. They had been admitted at Cambridge to the titles of degrees from 1921.

An extremely important influence upon secondary education in the later years of the century was the impact of the elementary system upon the secondary schools. In the words of the Spens Report, there was a tendency for elementary education to throw up experiments in post-primary education. In the early part of the century, the rapid development of elementary education, first under the National and the British and Foreign Schools Societies, resulted in experiments in providing instruction of a higher type than elementary. Sometimes this instruction was of a practical character and at others, it approximated to that envisaged by the Taunton Commission for the third grade schools. Although the issue of the Revised Code of 1862 tended to check the movement in schools which received the Government grant, many voluntary schools organised a "higher top" to the elementary school or arranged for

older boys to be sent to a central village school. The recommendations of the Taunton Commission in regard to the third grade schools prepared the way for an extension of this tendency.

The first decade after the passage of the 1879 Act was chiefly concerned with the provision of elementary education in those districts where it was deficient, but the voluntary schools were still free to experiment, and two interesting examples of schools providing a higher top were to be found at Lancaster and Oswestry. The attempts made by the Education Department between 1870 and 1880 to expand the elementary curriculum and to secure regular attendance, resulted in an increase in the number of children who remained at school after the age of 13. In 1882 a seventh standard was authorised to meet the needs of these children and later ex-standard classes had to be formed. For ease in administration, it became convenient to group these pupils together in one central school, which eventually became the Higher Grade School. Many of these schools organised a science course in order to earn grants from the Science and Art Department. In some districts, older pupils remained in the elementary school and attended a special science class within the school in order to obtain grants. Certain school boards in London and the larger towns displayed great interest in developing higher grade schools. Sheffield opened a Higher Central School in 1878 and similar schools developed in London, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Bradford. Because of the grants from the Science and Art Department, all these schools developed with a definite science bias. Leeds presents a very good example of the movement described above. Some years before the Act of 1870, the Headmaster of the Leeds Parish Church School began to develop his school as a higher grade school. Science was introduced in order to earn the grants of the Science and Art Department and thus led to the erection of a separate school in 1870, known as the Church Middle Class School. It was recognised as an Organised Science School by the Science and Art Department in 1895, and after the 1902 Act, the Board of Education recognised it as a Secondary School. Owing to financial difficulties it was taken over by the Leeds Education Committee in 1907. The school was inspected by Mr. A. P. Laurie, Assistant Commissioner of the Royal Commission on Secondary Education, 1895. He reported: "If this school is to regain its position in Leeds, the headmaster will have to reform the teaching both in science and in art, and in manual instruction, and the committee of the school will have to spend a

considerable sum of money in proper equipments.”¹ From this school, Mr. Laurie went to the Leeds Higher Grade School, of which he says, “This school is the most interesting in Leeds in many ways, representing as it does the entering of a new power into the existing system of Secondary Education”² This school was opened in temporary buildings in 1885 and transferred to a new building some four years later. Mr. Laurie spoke very highly of the work of Dr. Forsyth and his staff, but he made a criticism which was applicable to most schools of this type

He wrote: “The school, however, is suffering from two grave defects, both of which are an inheritance from bad traditions, and are likely soon to disappear. In the first place, the school having been organised by the school board, has necessarily suffered from the traditions of elementary schools as to the size of classes, and we consequently find that the classes are much too large, sometimes numbering as many as 60 children . . . The other serious defect is due to the fact that the school is depending for its income very largely on the grants it earns from the Science and Art Department. The result of this is, in the first place to give an undue bias to science as opposed to other subjects on which grants can be earned; in the second place, to require the children to store up an undue amount of information upon scientific subjects which they are too young to digest and which are necessary if grants are to be earned.” Later he said: “It is impossible to convey in a report the impression which this school makes upon one of efficiency, energy, and vitality, and I think no one who has spent some time inside it can fail to realise that we are here in the presence of a new educational force which has already developed to a vigorous and lusty youth and that it is impossible to say what may be the limit of its growth, or how soon, to quote Dr. Forsyth himself, ‘the organisation which was originally devised for the elementary education of the country, passing with great strides across the realms of Secondary Education, may soon be battering at the doors of the ancient universities themselves’. . . this higher grade school represents a new educational movement from below, and a demand from new classes of the population for Secondary Education which has sprung up in a few years.”³

Another factor was the influence of the reports of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, 1882-84. The result was that

¹ *Royal Commission on Secondary Education*, 1895, Vol. VII, p. 158

² *Ibid.*, p. 159

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 161-2.

parents were encouraged to send their children to the higher grade schools if they were able to keep them at school until 14 or 15 years of age. The Cross Commission of 1888 produced conflicting opinions about the higher grade schools. Some witnesses, while stressing the importance of establishing an efficient system of secondary education, thought this would be better achieved by developing the endowed schools rather than by increasing the number of higher grade schools. It was also argued that by withdrawing the "cream" of the pupils from the elementary schools, harm would be done both to the teachers and to the scholars of the latter. In reply, it was stressed that practical convenience demanded the grouping of the older children in special schools in order to use the supply of available teachers economically. These differences of opinion were expressed through a majority and a minority report. The latter strongly encouraged the building of higher grade schools "which would prepare scholars for advanced technical and commercial instruction." The majority, however, considered that the growing extension of elementary education into the secondary sphere would mean that "a portion of the cost of the education of wealthier persons would be defrayed out of the rates."

Bradford was also one of the pioneers in the provision of higher elementary education. At the time of the Bryce Commission of 1895 the city possessed five higher grade schools which after the passage of the 1902 Act became secondary schools of the town. The Leeds Higher Grade School also became a municipal secondary school under the name of the City of Leeds School. It was closed temporarily during the last war and has now reopened as the Central High School which provides for grammar school, technical, and commercial streams. It is still in an experimental stage and may be altered considerably in the near future.

We must leave for a time the account of the progress of higher elementary education to consider a further important influence upon secondary education in England. To do this it will be necessary to glance at educational progress in Wales.

The growth of Welsh secondary education in the Middle Ages was in many respects similar to that of England. Until the 15th century all Welsh schools were attached to the Church, but with the foundation of Oswestry Grammar School about 1407, the Welsh Independent Grammar Schools came into existence. In the

following century a number of similar schools were founded or re-founded by the Tudors, in pursuance of their policy of assimilating Welsh life, customs, law, language, and education, to those of England. Just as in England, song schools and schools of an elementary character existed. The latter were often preparatory schools for the grammar schools but, again, as in England at the same period, some grammar schools included an elementary department. Thus, in the statutes of Oswestry, 1577, the master is directed to provide "an able and efficient usher in the sayd schoole for the teaching of the younger sort to read the A B.C., the English prymer and the gramer comonly called the King's gramer." During the 17th and 18th centuries a similar deterioration to that in the English schools occurred in the Welsh grammar schools. The middle years of the 19th century saw an awakening of interest in secondary education. It began with the foundation in 1848, by Sir Thomas Phillips, of the Collegiate School at Llandovery, which was followed in 1853 by the opening of the girls' schools at Llandaff and Denbigh. Between 1850 and 1869, the year of the Endowed Schools Act, the Court of Chancery and the Charity Commission revived a number of old endowed schools. The Taunton Commissioners investigated the state of secondary education in Wales and reported that 24 classical and semi-classical endowed schools existed and provided for the education of 961 boys. As a result of the work carried out by the Endowed Schools Act, the number of schools in 1880 had risen to 27 with 1540 boys. Also three girls' schools had come into existence. While this slow progress was being achieved, the Reform Act of 1868 produced a great wave of political enthusiasm which advocated Home Rule for Wales, or at least, special consideration for Welsh affairs. The result of the General Election of 1880 persuaded the Government that something would have to be done and as a consequence they decided to appoint a Departmental Committee under the chairmanship of Lord Aberdare.

The terms of reference of the inquiry were "to inquire into the present condition of Intermediate and Higher Education in Wales, and to recommend the measures which they may think advisable for improving and supplementing the provision that is now, or might be made available for such education in the Principality." The inquiry revealed a lamentable state of affairs. The population of Wales and Monmouthshire in the census of 1881 was 1,570,000.

The number of boys receiving some type of secondary education was —

In endowed grammar schools	1540
In proprietary schools	209
In private schools	2287
Total	4036

The only three girls' schools were those at Denbigh, Llandaff, and Dolgelly. The grammar schools were capable of accommodating 2846 pupils, but the pooriness of the attendance was due to their remoteness from the large towns, the inadequate instruction given, the apathy of the parents, and the prejudice of a population containing a very large number of Nonconformists against schools that were Church institutions. Another factor which made for the unpopularity of the schools was that in many cases the headmaster was an Englishman with little sympathy for the Welsh language or culture. The endowments were very unequally distributed in relation to the population. Proprietary schools, which had been greatly developed in England, were rare in Wales, but private schools were fairly numerous. Seventy-three were girls' schools with a total of 1871 pupils. The only county which had anything like sufficient endowments for its needs was Denbigh. To sum up, the proportion of educational endowments of Wales to those of England was as one to three.

The report was enthusiastically received in Wales and bore fruit immediately in the establishment of University Colleges at Cardiff and Bangor. Some delay was experienced in regard to Intermediate Education (*i.e.* intermediate as being between elementary education and that provided by the university colleges), but at length the recommendations of the inquiry were embodied in the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889. The Act created, as the local authority in education, joint education committees for every county and county borough. Each committee consisted of five members, three nominated by the county or county borough council, and two persons "well acquainted with the conditions of Wales and the wants of the people," who were selected by the Lord President of the Privy Council. The Charity Commission was represented on the committee by an assistant-commissioner who was without the power of voting. The duty of each local authority was to submit a scheme for intermediate and technical education for its area.

They were to take into account the educational endowments that could be utilised and might levy a rate not exceeding $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the £ if recommended by the county council to do so. The Treasury would make a Parliamentary grant not exceeding the contribution from the rates and this would be paid on the results of an annual inspection and report on each school.

The schemes of the local authorities were to be approved by the Charity Commissioners and the administration of the schools was left in the hands of the governing bodies on which the county councils were represented. The Act was well received and its provisions were being carried out within six months of its acceptance by Parliament. A number of general conferences of the joint education committees took place and led to the proposal for a central examining board to co-ordinate the work of the committees and inspect and examine the schools. It was not, however, until 1896 that the Central Welsh Board for Intermediate Education was instituted. Many of the endowed grammar schools were adopted by the education committees, but some of the larger preferred to remain outside the county organisation. The results of the reorganisation were soon apparent. By 1898, the county schemes covered 96 schools of which 79 were newly constructed. Of these, 20 were girls' schools and 48 mixed. The number of girls receiving secondary education had risen from 263 in 1880 to 3372 in 1898.

While affairs in Wales were being reduced to order and system, educational administration in England was growing more and more chaotic and unwieldy. The Education Department was responsible for elementary education as a whole, except for certain schools of an elementary character with endowments worth more than £100. The higher grade schools, which were secondary schools in every thing except name, also came under the authority of the Education Department except in so far as they received grants from the Science and Art Department. The great public schools were independent and the endowed grammar schools were subject to the Charity Commission except in so far as they also received grants from the Science and Art Department. The Board of Agriculture and Fisheries made grants to certain universities and to one county council for agricultural education in its area. In all this multiplicity of departments there was little co-ordination, and constant overlapping. Nor was local administration in any better state. The endowed schools possessed their separate governing bodies. There were 2568 different school boards and 14,238 other authorities

(school attendance committees and boards of managers). It was felt that some kind of Government action was necessary to bring order out of confusion, but the extent to which Government intervention might grow was a matter for controversy. The waste and overlapping due to too many cooks led to an attempt in 1892 to introduce legislation enabling counties to organise secondary education as they had done in Wales. The attempt failed, but owing to the resolutions passed by the Bradford Independent Labour Party in 1893 and the recommendations of a conference on secondary education in England called by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, the Government resolved to appoint a Royal Commission on Secondary Education in 1894. Its chairman was Mr. (afterwards Viscount) Bryce and its report was published in 1895. Before we examine the Bryce Commission and its recommendations it will be necessary to turn our attention to the development of elementary education. But before leaving this period it will be of interest to consider the achievements of another outstanding Headmaster, Thring of Uppingham.

Edward Thring was born at Alford in Somerset in 1821. From Ilminster Grammar School he was sent to Eton, then under the stern rule of Dr. Keate. As a foundation scholar of Eton, Thring went in due course to King's College, Cambridge, in 1841. He showed promise of exceptional ability, and after remaining at Cambridge until 1847 as a Fellow of King's, he was ordained and served as a curate at St. James's, Gloucester. His parochial experience led him to believe that a clergyman's parish work is an excellent apprenticeship to the profession of a schoolmaster. It was due to his teaching experience in the National Schools of Gloucester that Thring formed the opinion that the highest teaching skill is needed in the education of the younger children. After a breakdown by overwork, Thring took a curacy at Marlow, where he did some private tutoring. He declined the offer of an assistantship at Eton, but in 1852 he applied for the vacancy at Durham School. The headmaster of Uppingham was appointed and this led Thring to apply in turn for the vacancy at Uppingham. On being appointed in 1853, he said, "I think I have found my life work to-day." At the time of Thring's appointment, Uppingham was a small country grammar school which had been founded by the Archdeacon of Leicester in 1584. A similar school controlled by the same governors had been founded at Oakham. Thring wanted to rebuild Uppingham and turn it into a large public school in which

he could work out his own ideas of what a public school should be. He was definitely opposed to the large classes which were to be found in most public schools of the time. He considered that 30 boarders was the maximum a master and his wife could look after, and that a form should never exceed 30. The ideal public boarding school would not consist of more than 10 or 11 houses each containing about 30 boys. If the school were larger than this, the headmaster could not know each individual personally and would be dependent on others for his information. The idea of a multilateral school containing 2000 pupils would have appeared to Thring as an educational monstrosity. He had definite ideas about the boarding arrangements. The long dormitory such as he had experienced at Eton was something to be avoided. He believed in each boy having his separate cubicle and study. In a large school a variety of interests, tastes, and abilities will be found amongst the boys. Thring firmly believed that every boy could do something well and it was therefore the business of the schoolmaster to find out what this something might be, and of the school to provide a variety of studies and occupations. He was also convinced of the importance of games and physical education, and in 1859 he opened the first school gymnasium in England. Shops for woodwork and metalwork were built and the school was provided with a swimming bath and opportunities given for school gardens. Like Arnold, he attached great importance to the school chapel. From the moment of his appointment, Thring was working for the realisation of his ideal, but he had to face enormous difficulties. He was not a wealthy man and he put every penny he could spare into the rebuilding of the school. In 1857 the debt on the school had grown to £2680, but still he persevered with his schemes. He had to meet with opposition from his governors, who did not want Uppingham superior to Oakham.

When the governors refused to support him in building the school chapel, Thring set to work and raised the necessary funds through subscriptions, and the chapel was finished in 1865 at a cost of £10,000. The governors also refused to co-operate with him in the rebuilding of the schoolroom, but he obtained support from his staff, who believed in him to such an extent that they were willing to invest their savings in the venture. Even as late as 1858, only one of the governors had troubled to visit the school to see how the work was progressing. The result of this reconstruction was that the school got more and more into debt, but nothing

daunted Thring in striving after his ideal. Then came a cruel blow. The Endowed Schools Act was passed in 1869 and the Commissioners claimed that Uppingham came under their jurisdiction. Thring fought this claim, for he believed that Government intervention in the affairs of the public schools would curtail their freedom and independence and prevent them from developing along their own individual lines. This led Thring to form the idea of presenting a united front to the threat aimed at the independence of the schools. Accordingly he suggested that a meeting of the headmasters of the most important endowed schools to consider what steps should be taken to meet the situation. The result was the constitution of the Headmasters' Conference in 1869. The first members of the Conference were Uppingham, Repton, Sherborne, Tonbridge, Liverpool College, Bury St. Edmunds, Richmond (Yorks), Bromsgrove, Oakham, the King's School (Canterbury), Felsted, Lancing, and Norwich. The older public schools soon joined in and, as further schools asked to be admitted, certain conditions of eligibility for membership were drawn up. The member schools had to be satisfactory from an educational standpoint, must send an adequate number of boys to the universities, and have a headmaster and governing body who were independent. At first the members were limited to 150 schools, but in 1937 the limit was increased to 200 and the rules for admission modified. Direct Grant Schools were admitted, and even Maintained Schools. If "the Committee is satisfied on the general question of the freedom of the School and the Headmaster." When the Fleming Committee inquired into the public schools in 1944, it accepted as a working definition of a public school a school represented on the Headmasters' Conference or on the Governing Bodies' Association. When the Government proposed a central examination council the Conference in 1873 urged the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to form a joint board to inspect and examine schools and grant certificates.

Thring went through a very anxious time in 1875 when enteric fever broke out in the school. It seemed as though the school would be broken up, but he saved the situation by evacuating it to a site near Aberystwyth. The school returned to Uppingham in 1878, where Thring remained as headmaster until his rather sudden death in 1887.

Thring did much to broaden the curriculum of the school as we have seen. He was not a musician himself, but he had a great

belief in the refining and stimulating power of music, and with the assistance of one of the masters he built up a strong musical tradition at Uppingham. The mornings at Uppingham were given up to the compulsory subjects of the curriculum—Classics, mathematics, and English—but in the afternoons the boys were granted a good many options and were encouraged to enter the workshops, referred to previously. Thring was also interested in the art and technique of the teacher, and to help new-comers to the profession he wrote his *Theory and Practice of Teaching* in 1883, a book that for many years after was studied by intending teachers.

CHAPTER V

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN THE AGE OF PHILANTHROPY

The closing years of the 17th century witnessed a remarkable revival of interest in elementary education. Professor Helen Wodehouse links the revival with the discovery of the idea of the joint-stock company. "Power, it was found, could be multiplied indefinitely, at any one point, if a number of persons put together their small sums of money and handed over the management to a chosen few. . . . Might it not be possible, some good people asked, to combat by this means the mass of carelessness, ignorance, and irreligion which they saw in the poor? Many Religious Societies and Societies for the Reformation of Manners, came into being in England, but all have been overshadowed by the greatest, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge."¹

The S.P.C.K. was founded in 1698, and among its many aims was the foundation of schools to give a sound education, religious and secular, to the children of the poor. The first meeting of the new society adopted a resolution to "further and promote that good design of erecting Catechetical schools in each parish in and about London." The society proposed to obtain funds for the erection and maintenance of Charity Schools by issuing lists to the parishes inviting people to subscribe. The money obtained in this way was supplemented by the preaching of special "charity" sermons at which a collection in support of the schools was made. The idea caught on and was received everywhere with great enthusiasm. Rich and poor hastened to give what they could afford in support of the movement. Wealthy individuals either contributed a lump sum or engaged themselves to pay a fixed amount each year. Some of the clergy undertook to teach a number of children gratis or contributed to the expenses of children attending school. In some parishes, certain individuals were appointed as parish clerks on condition that they, as part of their duties, would teach a number of children. At Warwick, a collecting box was placed in the church with the inscription, "For the use and increase of the Charity

¹ Helen Wodehouse. *A Survey of the History of Education*, p. 141.

School." In some districts the parents themselves applied the principle of self-help and themselves contributed towards the education of their children. The best known example is that at Winleton, County Durham, in 1717. Here "the workmen of an ironwork, who are about 400 or 500, allow one farthing and a half per shilling per week, which, together with their master's contribution, maintains their poor, and affords about £17 per annum for teaching their children to read etc."

The bishops preached many charity sermons which not only added to the funds of the society but helped to heighten the enthusiasm. By 1741, the society claimed that its efforts had resulted in the establishment of nearly 2000 schools containing over 40,000 children.

The committee of the S.P.C.K. took its work very seriously and realised that building schools was not sufficient unless trained teachers could be obtained and the efficiency of the instruction maintained. Accordingly, they proposed the establishment of a training college "to prepare young persons for the arduous and responsible work of instructing children." This proposal did not come to anything, but in 1701 the Rev. M. Cohan was appointed inspector of the Charity Schools in the London neighbourhood at a stipend of £20 per annum. Within a very short space of time the movement spread to all parts of the country. In 1705, Ralph Thoresby was largely instrumental in establishing a school at Leeds. He was a corresponding member of the S.P.C.K. and in his diary shows considerable interest in the fortunes of the school. In 1620, a workhouse had been erected near the Leeds Grammar School and part of the workhouse building was converted into a Charity School, where, we are told, 40 poor boys and girls were maintained and "duly instructed in the Knowledge and Practice of the Christian Religion; taught to read and write, with a competent skill in Arithmetick, as also to spin, sew, knit, etc." The pupils were also taught to "Scribble, a new Invention whereby the different colours in the deyed Wool are delicately mixed." The school was maintained by voluntary subscriptions which totalled £200 a year. Thoresby not only contributed to the funds but became one of the collectors for the school, persuading many of his friends to become contributors as well. A seat on the north side of the parish church was allotted to the children "who decently cloathed in blue, first appeared in public, March 24th, 1705." In 1726 the school was removed to another site and in 1752 a room was added for spinning

at a cost of £76. In 1815 attendance at the school was restricted to girls only.

The Leeds Charity School is an illustration of a development which was common to the whole country. The schools gradually introduced industrial occupations such as spinning, and gardening. Some were day schools, but others, like that at Leeds, were boarding schools and frequently provided a distinctive uniform for the pupils. Thus we hear of blue-coat, green-, grey-, or yellow-coat schools. It is noteworthy that most of the schools admitted girls as well as boys.

The Dissenters had their own Charity Schools and even claimed to have originated them. The first school is said to have been one founded in 1687 at Southwark. Originally it contained 40 children, but soon the number increased to 130. In 1728, Dr. Watts published an Essay towards the encouragement of Charity Schools, particularly those which were supported by Protestant Dissenters.

In the S.P.C.K. schools, the schoolmaster was required to be at least 25 years of age, a member of the Church of England, able to pass an examination in the principles of the Christian religion, a good disciplinarian, able to write a good hand and to have an aptitude for arithmetic. One wonders how many really came up to this standard. When one realises the number of schools said to have been established and the amount of money available, it becomes apparent that a great many of these schools must have been housed in existing buildings. No doubt some of these represented a revival of an earlier endowed elementary school which had closed through lack of funds. The boys were apprenticed to various trades and the girls usually entered domestic service.

Mandeville attacked the schools bitterly. He sneered at the "enthusiastic passion for Charity-schools" amongst the wealthy and argued that the education of the poor would result in discontent and rebellion. The poor occupied a position in society which had been assigned to them and if they were to be labourers they should be used to their position from the very first. The enthusiasm for Charity Schools began to wane after the middle of the century. Some failed because of incompetent management; others lingered on until they were eventually incorporated with the National Schools of the 19th century.

Besides the Charity Schools and those endowed schools which had survived from the previous century, popular education was represented by private schools. These seem to have been fairly

numerous, but we have no means of ascertaining their number. Some were "Dame" schools intended for very young children and are described in the oft-quoted verse of Shenstone in 1742

"In every village marked with little spire,
Embower'd in trees, and hardly known to fame,
There dwells, in lowly shed and mean attire,
A matron, whom we schoolmistress name,
Who boasts unruly brats with birch to tame."

Some of these schools attained a certain measure of efficiency, but for the most part they were very inefficient baby-minding establishments. Schools for older children were taught by schoolmasters. A few of these were really well-run schools, but in most cases the masters were drawn from the very dregs of society. Many were ignorant and brutal, much addicted to drink, and in numerous cases carried on at the same time some kind of artisan employment, turning their attention from their work at intervals to superintend the running of the school. Often the schoolmaster was a man who had tried and failed at every occupation in turn and had taken up the charge of a school as a last resort. For the majority of children the only education they received was that given in their own homes. The boys were often trained in their father's occupation and the girls learnt sewing, knitting, cookery, and domestic work from their mothers. In a few homes the parents taught their children the alphabet, reading and writing, and there are cases of boys who later attained eminence without any other training than that provided by the home. When, however, all these different agencies are considered, the fact remains that only a very small proportion of the child population received even the most elementary instruction. The proportion of literates amongst the population was probably much less than in Tudor days, and as the century wore on, owing to the industrial changes and the growth of the population, it became even smaller.

As early as 1675, Thomas Firmin had erected a spinning factory where children of four or five years of age were taught to read and to spin. In 1697, Locke had suggested a similar type of industrial school for pauper children. A few industrial schools were set up in the early part of the 18th century, but it was not until the factories began to multiply that they became more numerous.

The boys were taught useful occupations such as gardening, carpentry, cobbling, and printing; the girls spinning, knitting,

sewing, and straw plaiting. The work done by the pupils was sold and the proceeds went to their maintenance. If the child's earnings exceeded the cost of his keep, he was given a cash payment. The idea was to make each school self-supporting. In some Schools of Industry the children were taught reading and writing, but there was always the temptation to emphasise the occupational aspect in order to cover expenses. The boys' schools were largely a failure as their products did not command as ready a sale as those from the girls' schools. As the change to factory conditions accelerated, the demand for child labour became so great that children of tender years could be found work in the mills and mines and bring home their earnings to augment the family wage. Even foundlings and orphans were insufficient to keep up numbers in the Schools of Industry. The guardians of the poor often apprenticed pauper children to masters whose only consideration was the amount of work they could obtain from them.

By 1780, the influence of the Charity School movement had practically ceased, and the Schools of Industry, never very numerous, were declining in numbers. The effects of the great industrial changes were becoming very noticeable in the drift from the country to the towns and in the rapid growth of population in the new industrial areas. In the age of domestic industries, children had been accustomed from their early years to working in the home or on the farms at occupations which were not wholly unpleasant and which to a certain extent were educational. Now, the demand for child labour brought them into the factories, but they still had one day of the week in which they were free. It was their wild and mischievous behaviour on Sundays that was the occasion of the Sunday School movement which for the first time had the object of extending education to the poor of the whole country. The movement is generally associated with the name of Robert Raikes of Gloucester. Raikes was not, however, the inventor of the Sunday School, nor are we certain that he was even the first to open a Sunday School in his own city of Gloucester. John Wesley had experimented with a Sunday School at Savannah in 1737, and about the same time one was opened at High Wycombe by Hannah Ball. The honour of opening the first Sunday School in Gloucester probably belongs to Raikes's friend, the Rev. Thomas Stock, who had started a school in his parish of St. John. It is possible that the idea resulted from a conference between the two, but we do know that, in 1780, Raikes opened his first Sunday School in Sooty

Alley, so called because it was the quarter in which the chimney sweeps lived.¹

Raikes was the descendant of an old Yorkshire family which had migrated to Gloucester. In 1722, his father had founded the *Gloucester Journal*, a paper which warmly supported philanthropic movements. Raikes was intensely interested in alleviating the terrible condition of the prisoners in the Gloucester gaol. He met a kindred spirit in John Howard and the result was that from 1773 onwards, the *Gloucester Journal* did all it could in support of Howard's crusade.

Raikes was also acquainted with Wilberforce, and his efforts to suppress the slave trade. As Raikes's biographer says, "The Sunday School system with which the name of Robert Raikes will ever be inseparably connected may be said to have originated in the Gloucester gaols. It was there that he learnt the direct connection between ignorance and crime, and there he saw the futility of punishing the effect without removing the cause."²

At this time the chief industry in Gloucester was the manufacture of pins. Many children were employed in the industry, which was carried on partly in their homes and partly in factories. Sunday was a day of freedom for them and their wild lawless behaviour so horrified Raikes that he wrote in the *Journal*, "The misuse of Sunday appears by the declaration of every criminal to be their first step in the course of wickedness." He testified that "the farmers and other inhabitants of the towns and villages receive more injury in their property in the Sabbath than in all the week besides; this in a great measure proceeds from the lawless state of the younger class who are allowed to run wild on that day free from restraint." Whether this was exaggerated or not, it seemed to Raikes that the most effective way of preventing crime would be to keep the children occupied on Sundays and try to do something to improve them. One story relates that Raikes's attention was directed to the lawlessness of the children by the noise they made under his office window where he was preparing his Monday morning article for the *Journal*.

His friend Stocks opened his school on Sundays only, but from the start Raikes opened on weekdays as well. He began by employing paid teachers. The first teacher received 1s. for Sundays and 2s. for teaching during the mealtime break on weekdays. Parents

¹ In 1763, a Sunday School had been established at Catterick, Yorks, by the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey.

² A. Gregory. *Robert Raikes*, p. 27, Hodder and Stoughton, 1877.

who wanted instruction for their children during the week paid 1d. The scholars were obtained in various ways; sometimes by persuading the parents to send their children to Sunday School, sometimes by meeting the children in the street and bribing them with gifts of sweets and presents to attend. The first school remained open only for six months, but a little later Raikes restarted under better conditions near his own home. He soon found difficulty in managing his little hooligans, e.g. one boy brought a badger to school and let it loose during the lesson. To maintain order he resorted to flogging, and on one occasion it is recorded that he punished a boy who told a lie by "pressing the tips of his fingers on the bars of the fireplace so that he was blistered a bit"¹. Raikes was neither a bully nor was he cruel, and he soon found out his mistake in resorting to harsh methods. At heart he was a most kindly man and experience showed him that the best way of controlling children was to try to understand them, win their liking and discover the kind of things which interested them.

The result was that the school became increasingly successful and led him to open three other schools. This experiment attracted a good deal of attention and Raikes was able to publicise his work in the *Journal*. Soon the movement spread to the rest of the county and eventually to other parts of England. This diffusion was assisted by the formation, in 1785, of a Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday Schools throughout the kingdom of Great Britain. At its commencement, the Sunday School movement was undenominational, but it fell in with other religious and philanthropic influences such as the preaching of John Wesley and George Whitefield and the Evangelical Revival in the Established Church. Popular interest and imagination were stirred and the movement grew at a phenomenal rate and both the Church and the Nonconformists opened Sunday Schools. By 1795, nearly 250,000 children attended the schools and when the Sunday School Union, with a committee half Churchmen and half Dissenters, was formed in 1803, there were 7125 Sunday Schools with 88,860 teachers and 844,728 pupils. The scholars were taught spelling as a preparation for reading the Bible, but in many schools other items of secular instruction were given. As the movement grew, the tendency was to replace paid teachers by volunteers and for the instruction to become more religious and less secular. The influx

¹ Guy Kendal. *Robert Raikes*, p. 72, Nicholson and Watson, 1939.

of a large number of voluntary teachers, full of enthusiasm, but with little knowledge and no idea how to teach the small amount they possessed, often rendered the instruction of small educational value. Nevertheless, there were individuals of outstanding personality and ability who discovered by experience the best methods to adopt and who were more successful in their efforts. Raikes met John Wesley, who was greatly in favour of the spread of the movement, and the latter recorded in his *Journal*, "I find these schools springing up everywhere." The authorities warmly encouraged Raikes at the beginning and he was able to tell a friend, in 1792, that for the first time on record there was no case to be tried at the Gloucester Assizes. Farmers and factory owners joined in their praise of his work.

Opposition soon appeared from two distinct quarters. The events of the Reign of Terror frightened many people, who imagined similar things happening on this side of the Channel and that revolution would surely come to pass in this country if children were educated above the station in life in which it had pleased God to place them. Even the Bishop of Rochester in the House of Lords condemned Sunday Schools as fostering the views of the French Revolution, and some Dissenters accused Raikes of being a Sabbath breaker because the schools were opened on Sundays. Opposition also came from the parents themselves. One of the persons most influenced by the movement was Hannah More who, with her sisters, left the society life of London to live in the Mendip parish of Cowslip Green in 1785. She records that when she tried to persuade parents to send their children to school, they believed she was trying to secure them to sell as slaves in the West Indies.

The movement, however, proved stronger than the opposition. Hannah More was shocked by the ignorance, filthiness, and depravity of the people in the Cheddar district. She relates that she saw only one Bible in the village and that was used to prop up a flower pot. Wilberforce visited her and convinced her that her life's work lay in redeeming the people of Cheddar. He promised to supply the funds if she and her sisters would undertake the work. With this assistance, she opened a Sunday School, and obtained a teacher for £30 a year. She soon found that parents as well as children were in need of education and she formed a reading society for the parents and friendly societies for the women. Within her limitations she did magnificent work, but her good intentions were frequently marred by the narrow religious views

she held and the spirit of condescending patronage that often accompanied her efforts. For example, she was strictly opposed to teaching writing on Sundays.

A sterner and perhaps more intelligent person of the Hannah More type was to be found in Mrs. Trimmer, who opened schools in Brentford in 1786. Her object was to rescue the poor from ignorance and barbarism, but at the same time to see that they kept their appointed place. In the circle of her aristocratic friends she was able to stir up enthusiasm for the schools and she busied herself with writing story books and primers for young children. George III and Queen Charlotte visited the Brentford schools and Mrs. Trimmer wrote of the Queen, "It is impossible to do justice to the charming manner in which the Queen expressed the most benevolent sentiments and the tenderest regard for the happiness of the poor." Mrs. Trimmer was very particular about the behaviour of her children and issued the admonition, "Keep from swearing, lying, and stealing. Do not fight or quarrel, call nicknames or tell tales. Bow to gentlemen and ladies whenever you meet them. Do not take birds' nests, spin cockchafers or do anything to torment dumb creatures." In her book, *Reflections upon the Education of Children in Charity Schools*, 1792, she differentiates between Charity Schools and Schools of Industry, and assigns to them their separate functions. She emphasised the opening of Schools of Industry where poor girls would be taught spinning, knitting, and plain needlework, or trained to be domestic servants. As Professor Frank Smith writes, her book "is an interesting example of the educational views of a kindly, energetic and devoted Churchwoman of the eighteenth century, written just before the wave of panic poisoned the minds of the governing classes."¹

The Sunday School movement of the 18th century owes its importance not so much to what it actually achieved, as to the ideal towards which it strove, namely, universal popular education. It pointed the way to the realisation of this ideal, not indeed through private effort alone, but through the co-operation of the State. No one saw the value of these philanthropic movements more than Sir Kay-Shuttleworth, who wrote many years later, "It is also important to observe, that the development of Sunday Schools for the poor proceeded with gigantic strides. . . . The idea of education for the poor sprang from a religious impulse . . . it regarded the

¹ F. Smith. *A History of English Elementary Education*, p. 58, University of London Press, 1931.

school as a nursery of the Church and congregation, and confided its management to the chief communicants, to the deacons, elders, and class teachers. Thus the Sunday School became the type of the daily school.”¹

The Circulating School in Wales, associated with the name of the Rev. Griffith Jones, Rector of Llandown, was closely connected with the Charity School movement. Jones was a corresponding member of the S.P.C.K., and he was appalled by the ignorance of the Welsh people which had been largely unaffected by the few Charity Schools so far established. In 1737, he began his Circulating Schools with the object of teaching the poor of Wales to read the Bible. The work was carried on by means of travelling teachers, who stayed from three to six months in one neighbourhood, and then passed on to the next. Any kind of building available was used for the purpose of a school, and people of all ages were instructed both in the daytime and in the evening. In 30 years the number of scholars educated by this means had risen to 58,237. After his death in 1761, the work was carried on by Madam Bevan, who was able to record in 1777 that 6465 schools with 314,051 scholars existed. Madam Bevan died in 1779 and left her property for carrying on the work. Her will was disputed by her relations and her estate was thrown into Chancery, with the result that the schools came to an end. The will was upheld in 1807, but for over a quarter of a century the work of the schools had been frustrated by the procrastination of the Court of Chancery. As Montmorency comments, “In 1779 education was in full swing in Wales; but when the Bevan schools resumed their work, the people of the Principality had forgotten once more the meaning of popular education, and so we find that in 1820 popular education in Wales was less effective than in any part of England.”² Meanwhile the Sunday Schools had reached Wales. It is important to remember that the Welsh Sunday Schools differed from the English in that they catered for children only, whereas in England, adults as well as children attended the Sunday Schools.

Despite the rapid growth and marked success of the Sunday School movement, it was soon apparent that the problem with which they were grappling was too big for them, and that it could be solved only by the provision of a national system of day schools. Already there were certain advanced thinkers who believed in a

¹ Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth *Public Education*, p. 34, Longmans, 1853.

² J. E. G. de Montmorency, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

nation-wide system of day schools sponsored by the State in which attendance would be compulsory. Adam Smith, Thomas Paine, and Malthus, for different reasons were of this opinion, but William Godwin, who clung tenaciously to his belief in the freedom of the individual, was strongly opposed to State intervention in the educational sphere. State intervention, however, was not to come for many years yet and any scheme for general education would have to rely on philanthropy. The practical difficulties to be faced included the enormous numbers of children to be educated, the small amount of money available, and the scarcity of experienced teachers. Under the circumstances, any education provided would have to be cheap and would have to use the few teachers available to the best possible advantage.

It was for these reasons that the systems advocated by Andrew Bell and Joseph Lancaster attracted popular support. Bell seems to have been first in the field. In 1787, he went to India as a lecturer in science and amongst the many offices he held was that of chaplain to the Military Male Orphan Asylum in Madras. At this establishment he found about 20 boys receiving rather ineffective tuition at the hands of a master and two ushers. While visiting a native school, Bell noticed the children learning to write by tracing with their fingers in a sand tray. This appeared to him to be an ideal method of teaching and he resolved to introduce it into the asylum. The ushers resented his orders, and Bell selected John Frisken, a boy about eight years of age, and commanded him to take the class. Under Bell's instructions, Frisken taught the lowest class successfully and was made the permanent teacher. The experiment was continued by putting other boys in charge of the lower classes with Frisken as superintendent. When Bell returned to England, he published an account of his methods in a small book entitled, *An Experiment in Education*. At about the same time, Joseph Lancaster, who when in his teens had tried to run away to Jamaica, where he hoped to teach reading to the negro slaves, had opened a school in the Borough Road for about 100 pupils. Numbers grew rapidly and soon the school contained over 500 boys. In order to manage these large numbers, Lancaster hit upon the idea of teaching some of the older boys and setting them in turn to teach others.

Neither Bell nor Lancaster can be claimed as the inventors of the monitorial plan. In a previous chapter mention was made of some form of monitorial system in use at Winchester College,

Manchester Grammar School, and other grammar schools Robert Raikes was using a similar idea when he taught a prisoner to read and then set him to teach another, and later he introduced a kind of monitorial scheme into his Sunday School. There is no evidence that Bell or Lancaster were aware of previous applications of their principle, so that for each of them it was an independent discovery. Lancaster lost no time in advertising his discovery and claimed that a school of 1000 boys could be taught at the expense of one master and that the more the numbers were increased the less became the expense per head. The cheapness of the scheme constituted its greatest appeal. George III, the Queen, and the Princesses, became subscribers to the Borough Road School and the project aroused much popular enthusiasm. Churchmen and Dissenters alike supported it and a kind of monitorial plan was tried out at Charterhouse and at the High School in Edinburgh.

Unlike Lancaster, Bell did not found a school but introduced the monitorial principles into certain existing parochial schools. The plan was first used in 1798 at St. Botolph's, Aldgate, and a little later at Kendal. When, in 1801, Bell became Rector of Swanage, he introduced the system into the school along with vaccination for the "cow-pock." Lancaster visited the school at Swanage and both men interchanged notes, though it seems that Bell obtained greater help from his opposite number than Lancaster did. A breach between the two was occasioned by a publication of Mrs. Trimmer, in which she proclaimed that Bell had discovered the principle and Lancaster had merely copied him. She also pointed out that in the Lancastrian School the Catechism was not taught (Lancaster was a Quaker), and that the religious instruction was undenominational. This was quite sufficient to withdraw the support of the Church of England. The controversy which followed is not important in itself, but the fact that the Church supported Bell, and the Nonconformists Lancaster, started that acrimonious warfare between the Churches which was so disastrous to the cause of national education.

Lancaster's great weakness were his love of display and his lack of capacity for financial administration. His extravagant ways soon threatened money troubles and to save him from bankruptcy, the Royal Lancastrian Society was formed in 1808. His mismanagement of money caused the committee to exclude him from handling the finances of the school. He resigned from his position as superintendent of the Borough Road School and the

committee changed the name of the institution to that of the British and Foreign School Society. The Church of England formed in 1811 the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, which took over much of the work previously carried out by the S.P.C.K. Both societies established schools in all parts of the kingdom. The National Society kept careful records of the number of schools, teachers, and scholars and the statistics furnished show an amazing rate of growth.

	<i>Schools</i>	<i>Children</i>
1812	52	8620
1813	230	40,484
1815	564	97,920
1830	3670	about 346,000

Unfortunately these figures include the number of scholars attending Sunday Schools. Similar statistics for the British Schools are not available, but the return of 1851 gave the number of Church schools as 17,015, with 955,865 scholars, and the British Schools as 1500 with the estimated number of scholars as 225,000.¹

While the Lancaster-Bell controversy was at its height, Mr. Whitbread, in 1807, introduced into the Commons a Bill for establishing parochial schools in England and Wales. He acknowledged that the success and cheapness of the monitorial schools had greatly impressed him. But the time was not yet ripe for such a measure. The governing classes still viewed with suspicion any attempt to diffuse education amongst the ranks of the poor, who might be tempted to forget the position ordained for them in life, and the Church was firmly opposed to any form of religious instruction of an undenominational character. After encountering fierce opposition in the Commons, the Bill was rejected by the House of Lords. Its importance lies in its being the first of a series of attempts to secure State intervention in popular education. The same day that Whitbread's Bill was presented, the Commons voted

¹ In Leeds, the Royal Lancasterian Free School was opened in Boar Lane in 1812. The school accommodated 500 boys who were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, "in a mode the cheapest as well as the most effectual ever devised." A similar school for girls was opened in Call Lane. In 1813 a "handsome and convenient edifice" in Kirkgate was opened as a National Free School. The school was built for 360 boys and later was absorbed by the Parish Church Schools. Dr. Hook, when Vicar of Leeds, encouraged the National Schools, and during the period of his incumbency they grew from three to 30.

a sum not exceeding £23,270 for promoting English Protestant schools in Ireland.

The differences in practice between the systems of Bell and Lancaster were comparatively slight. If anything, Bell's system was the more flexible, while that of Lancaster tended to suffer from over-organisation. Both made use of the "factory" idea in their attempt to instruct large masses of children by mechanical means, and both were affected by the taint of cheapness. They were directly responsible for the large classes and the trail of cheapness which haunted English elementary education until very recent times.¹

There were several other experiments during this period which are of interest and importance. Perhaps the most influential was that connected with the name of Robert Owen, the founder of British Socialism. Owen was a self-made man who by the age of 30 had reached the position of manager and partner in the cotton mills of New Lanark. He found the conditions in the mills deplorable. The workers and the apprentices were "ignorant and destitute—generally indolent and much addicted to theft, drunkenness, and falsehood." Owen was a convinced believer in the power of environment in shaping the individual's character and personality. Like Helvetius in the previous century he adopted as his creed, *L'éducation peut tout*. He immediately set to work to improve conditions in the factory. Working hours were reduced to a maximum of 10 per day and he refused to employ children under the age of 10. Other reforms aiming at the establishment of better and healthier working conditions and an increased level of wages were inaugurated. He provided free instruction for the children of the workers up to the age of 12, but it was his work with infants which was most successful. His infant school, the first of its kind in Great Britain, was opened in 1816, and catered for children from one year upwards. This was consistent with his faith in the power of environment, for if the latter was to be effective it could not operate at too early an age.

For assistants, he chose James Buchanan, "a poor, simple-hearted weaver," and a young girl of 17, Molly Young, both of whom had impressed him by their sympathy with and understanding of small children. The accounts of the school reveal that the

¹ For a detailed account of the teaching and organisation of the monitorial school, see C. Birchenough, *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales*, pp. 242-54, U.T.P., 1938.

methods used were astonishingly modern. Harsh treatment and brutal punishment were never employed and the aim of the teachers was to win the liking and respect of the children. Emphasis was laid on the use of illustration, the telling of stories suited to the age and interests of the pupils, and instruction in natural history, based on observation of plant and animal life in the garden and the neighbourhood. Dancing and singing were taught and the children encouraged to play games in order to improve their powers of conversation. Owen met Pestalozzi in 1818 and had visited Fellenberg's school, but his own ideas had been worked out in complete independence of these educationists.

Unfortunately for the acceptance of his schemes, Owen was a free-thinker and did not win the support from the Church and public personages that he might have done. His example, however, directly influenced the establishment of an infants' school at Westminster, which was supported by James Mill, Lord Brougham, and Zachary Macaulay. Buchanan was asked to come from New Lanark to be the teacher, but in unaccustomed surroundings he seems to have been a complete failure. A second infants' school was opened in Spitalfields by Samuel Wilderspin in 1820. Wilderspin's ideas closely resembled those of Pestalozzi though he denied emphatically that the latter had ever influenced him. At first he encountered many difficulties in handling his large group of tiny children, but experience taught him that "the senses of the children must be engaged; so that the great secret of training them was to descend to their level and become a child." Wilderspin's vanity led him to claim for himself many ideas, and the invention of apparatus, which had been used by others long before his time, but his success as a teacher was due to his rejection of the mechanical methods of the monitorial school. His weakness lay in too great a reliance upon memory methods, in learning by heart catechisms of questions and answers and memorising rhymes and stories (of course with a moral) which marred the excellence of the rest of his approach. His work bore fruit in the formation in 1824 of the Infant School Society, the object of which was to found infant schools and train teachers for them. Wilderspin's later years were occupied with travelling to all parts of the kingdom in order to spread his gospel. The new society was short lived and was superseded in 1836 by the Home and Colonial Infant School Society to provide trained teachers for infant schools.

The shortage of suitable teachers had impressed David Stow and John Wood. The former had opened a Sunday School in Glasgow in 1816 and his experience in teaching there led him to devise his method of "picturing out," *i.e.* appealing to the child in simple language and using analogies with his everyday experience, and the idea of the "sympathy of numbers," *i.e.* the part played by imitation, sympathy, and suggestion, in forming the attitude of a class. He realised that the education given by the Sunday School was inadequate since it only catered for the child on one day a week. In 1826 he founded the Glasgow Infant Society and on meeting Wilderspin adopted some of his methods. Stow also experimented with a junior school and had already begun to train teachers for infant work. In 1835, the schools were taken over by the Glasgow Educational Society and the following year a normal school for the training of teachers was opened. Stow had always been convinced of the value of professional training for the teacher and, as a consequence of his work, for many years schools eagerly sought Stow's "trainers," as his teachers were called. A similar development had been taking place in 1813 in Edinburgh where the Sessional School had grown from the Sunday School. At first it was modelled on the Lancasterian plan and Bell was also asked for advice. John Wood visited the school to see some unemployed weaver's assistants and he noted the mechanical type of instruction that was being given. In his reaction to drill and memory work, he stressed the importance of interest and understanding. In his account of the school, he wrote that the aim should be to treat children as intelligent creatures and not as machines or animals devoid of reason. Like Stow, he emphasised the value of a teacher who had been trained in his craft. Alexander Wilson, a future Prebendary of St. Paul's, was a pupil at the Sessional School in the evenings. Wood had noticed his ability and persuaded him to become a teacher. He obtained a post at Dalkeith. When Dr. Kay, whose work will be considered in the next chapter, was seeking a master for his Poor Law School at Norwood, he visited the Edinburgh Sessional School, and was advised to see Alexander Wilson at Dalkeith. The result was that the latter was persuaded to come to England as Headmaster of the school at Norwood. This was an important link between the work being done in Scotland and the future developments in England.

An interesting instance of individual philanthropy is afforded by the work of John Pounds of Portsmouth. At first a sailor, Pounds, as a result of an accident, was obliged to take up the trade of shoemaker. When, in 1818, he took charge of the child of a sailor friend, he started a school to provide companionship for the child. From this modest beginning, he extended his activities and divided his time between his trade and caring for the poorest and most uncared-for children of the town. He seems to have wielded an extraordinary influence over them. His workshop was his school-room and between attending to his craft he managed to instruct the destitute boys and girls in reading and writing and also to give them lessons in cookery and cobbling. John Pound's example led to the formation of the Ragged Schools, which by 1858 numbered 192 schools with 20,909 pupils. The instruction was entirely free because the parents of the children were of a type who either could not, or would not, pay fees. Later, two such schools were opened in Leeds (1859) and did remarkable work in disciplining the slum children and fitting them for future employment.¹

All these experiments and even the bitter controversies over the respective claims of Bell and Lancaster served to focus attention upon popular education. The fate of Whitbread's Bill had already been recorded. At Whitbread's death in 1815, the cause of popular education found a champion in Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham. It was due to his advocacy that Parliament was persuaded to appoint a Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders. The inquiry revealed the growing demand for education and the inadequate facilities provided. The report placed on record the fact: "There is the most unquestionable evidence that the anxiety of the poor for education continues not only unabated, but daily increasing, that it extends to every part of the country, and is to be found equally prevalent in those smaller towns and country districts, where no means of gratifying it are provided by the charitable efforts of the richer classes."²

The great difficulty was to find the money for any extension of popular education. Brougham's attention was drawn to the numerous educational charities that existed which either were not being used to the best advantage or which were in some cases

¹ The development of the Ragged School movement was largely due to the work of Lord Shaftesbury in England and Dr. T. Guthrie in Scotland.

² *Third Report from the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders*, 1818, p. 56.

actually useless¹ Could not these funds be re-distributed? Accordingly, Brougham pressed and obtained an Act of 1818 appointing commissioners to inquire into the use being made of educational charities. The Act, however, was so whittled down in its passage through the Lords that it was deprived of any practical value. The universities and public schools deeply resented an inquiry into the way in which they used their funds, but in spite of its apparent failure, the Act indirectly was of considerable value. The Commission came into being and collected a number of statistics, but its value was in providing a pattern for the Charity Commission of later date.

Brougham also introduced an Education Bill into the Commons in 1820. Speaking in support of the Bill, Brougham showed that the inquiry had revealed the utter inadequacy of the existing educational facilities and the unsatisfactory attendance of the children who were going to school. "It appeared . . . that there were now educated at unendowed schools 490,000 children, and that to these were to be added about 11,000 for 150 parishes from which no returns had yet been made. In the endowed schools 165,432 children were educated; making a total (exclusive of the 11,000) of 655,432. In England it appeared that on the average 1-14th or 1-15th of the whole population was placed in the way of receiving education. . . . Another deduction ought also to be made for the dame-schools, where 53,000 were educated, or rather not educated, for it amounted to no education at all, since the children were generally sent too young, and taken away just when they were competent to learn. . . . The average means of mere education, therefore, was only in fact one-sixteenth in England; yet even this scanty means had only existed since the year 1803, when what were called the new schools, or those based upon the systems of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, were established. These schools were in number 1520, and they received about 200,000 children. Before 1803, then, only the twenty-first part of the population was placed in the way of education, and at that date England might be justly

¹ Kay-Shuttleworth wrote: "In other cases a small property may have been left for some use, which, though innocent, may be inconsistent with the appropriation of a greatly increased annual value. Mr. Fearon, secretary to the Charity Commission created in 1849, related to me the following facts:—A tobacconist left a field, with directions that the rental should be held in trust to supply six poor women with snuff at Barthelemy tide. The field became valuable building land, and the annual rent increased to a very large amount. To apply such an income to such a use was obviously absurd." *Public Education*, p. 189.

looked on as the worst-educated country of Europe. What a different picture was afforded by Scotland! The education there was in the proportion of 1-9th or between 1-9th and 1-10th. Wales was even in a worse state than England; at the present day the proportion was 1-20th, and before 1803, it was 1-26th.”¹

The report praised the liberality of the National Schools where “the church catechism is only taught, and attendance at the established place of public worship only required, of those whose parents belong to the establishment, due assurance being obtained that the children of sectaries shall learn the principles and attend the ordinance of religion according to the doctrines and forms to which their families are attached.” These words, which would not have been true a few years later, contain in germ the Conscience Clause of the 1870 Act.

The Education Bill aimed at providing schools in places where they were needed. The money for building the schools was to come from the manufacturers “who, while they increased the objects of the poor-rates, contributed but little towards them,” and the masters’ salaries from a tax on country gentry. Rates were to be levied by the parish officers twice yearly to support the school and all parents who could afford to do so were to pay 2d. or 4d. a week in fees. The master must be a member of the Church of England, and should be approved by the incumbent of the parish, who had the power of dismissing him. The instruction to be given was to be fixed by the clergy, who would have authority to visit and examine the schools. In order to appease the Nonconformists, Brougham suggested that the religious teaching should consist solely in the study of Scripture and that no form of worship should be allowed except the Lord’s Prayer. Every child should be taken by his parents to church or chapel on Sundays. The suggestion about religious teaching was in substance the same as the Cowper Temple Clause of 1870.

The Bill was opposed by both Church and Nonconformists, especially the latter, and Brougham withdrew it after the second reading. Although no new education proposals were presented to Parliament for over 10 years, a good deal of useful work was going on, mainly through the efforts of Brougham. In 1825, he published his pamphlet, *Observations on the Education of the People*, and it is a commentary on the awakening interest in education that it had to be reprinted 20 times in the year. The

¹ *Hansard*, 1820, Vol. II, Col. 61.

pamphlet led to the formation of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. Brougham's support of the newly founded Mechanics' Institutes and the part he played in creating the University of London will be mentioned in later chapters.

The Reform Bill became law in 1832 and the new Parliament of the following year was packed with members eager for other reforms. Knowing the temper of the new House, petitions pleading for the creation of a national system of education flowed in from all parts of the country. Joseph Hume, Member for Middlesex, supported the petitions and attacked the Government vehemently. Suddenly, Brougham announced in the House of Lords his change of opinion about compulsory education. He argued that the great increase of the children in school did away with the need for compulsion. There were now 1,030,000 pupils receiving instruction in the non-endowed schools and 165,000 in the endowed schools. Brougham's former position was championed by Mr. J. A. Roebuck who moved that the House "deeply impressed with the necessity of providing for a due Education of the People at large; and believing that to this end the aid and care of the State are absolutely needed, will, early during the next Session of Parliament, proceed to devise a means for the universal and national Education of the whole People."¹ The plan he proposed was greatly in advance of anything that had been suggested before, and in many ways showed a similarity to the Acts of 1870 and 1876. "In general terms, I would say, that I would oblige, by law, every child in Great Britain and Ireland, from, perhaps six years of age to twelve years of age to be a regular attendant at school. If the parents be able to give, and actually do give their children elsewhere sufficient education, then they should not be compelled to send them to the national school. If, however, they should be unable or unwilling to give them such instruction, then the State should step in and supply this want by compelling the parent to send the child to the school of the State."²

Roebuck proposed three types of State school, infant, school of industry, and the normal school for training teachers. In addition, evening schools in the towns were suggested. Every county should be divided into school districts in each of which a school committee should be elected. A member of the Cabinet would supervise and direct the national school system. On the financial

¹ *Commons Journal*, Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 615.

² *Hansard*, 1833, Vol. XX, Col. 153.

side, the cost would be met by fees from those who could afford them, from additional taxation, and from a redistribution of existing educational endowments. An interesting debate followed which showed that many people had been earnestly discussing the problems of national education. The Government was unwilling to proceed with Mr. Roebuck's Bill, but on August 17th, 1833, in an almost empty House of Commons, Lord Althorp's suggestion of voting £20,000 for the purposes of education was carried by 50 votes to 26

The grant was opposed on two widely different grounds. Hume objected that the amount was inadequate to establish a national system and would only have the effect of discouraging philanthropy. Cobbett, rather surprisingly, opposed the grant on the ground that education was not improving the condition of the country. The increase of educational facilities in recent years had been accompanied with an increase of crime. All education did was to produce a new race of idlers—schoolmasters and schoolmistresses.

The actual vote was worded, "That a Sum, not exceeding £20,000, be granted to His Majesty, to be issued in aid of Private Subscriptions for the Erection of School Houses, for the Education of the Children of the Poorer Classes in Great Britain, to the 31st day of March 1834; and that the said sum be issued and paid without any fee or other deduction whatsoever."

This historic occasion attracted very little notice in the Press. It was merely a fact the significance of which was not yet apparent. Only the *Quarterly Journal of Education* pointed out the defects of the grant. It was to be paid only when at least half the total cost of the building had been raised by private subscription. In giving grants, preference would be shown to large towns after an inquiry into the availability of already existing charitable funds. As there was no Government department to control the expenditure, the amount was divided equally between the National Society and the British and Foreign Schools Society. No conditions were made with regard to inspection, suitability of buildings, or curriculum.

CHAPTER VI

FROM THE BEGINNING OF STATE INTERVENTION TO THE REVISED CODE, 1862

The advocates of a national system of elementary education were far from satisfied by the meagre grant made by the Government in 1833. The following year, Mr. Roebuck initiated a discussion when he put a motion for a committee to inquire into the means of establishing a system of national education. The ensuing discussion brought into relief several important points. Not only was the education given declared to be deficient in quality as well as quantity, but the need for the training of teachers was pressed. The sole training institutions available in England were the model schools of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. At the latter's school in Borough Road the course was of three months' duration only. Lord Brougham advocated a plan for normal schools in London, York, Lancaster, and Exeter. The result of the debate was the grant of an additional £10,000 divided between the two great societies, who were obliged to raise further sums by subscriptions before the work could go forward. The National Society eventually opened the College of St. Mark's, Chelsea, in 1841, and the British and Foreign School Society opened the Borough Road College a little later. In 1838, Mr. Wyse moved in the Address to the Queen a request for a board of commissioners in education to consider the immediate establishment of training institutions for teachers. The indifference of the Government, and the hostility of the Church to certain points in his suggestions caused the motion to be defeated by four votes.

The antagonism between the Church and the Nonconformists was growing increasingly more bitter. Many of the clergy, influenced by the Oxford Movement, were insisting more vehemently upon the right of the Church to control education, and the more it asserted its claims, the greater grew the jealousy and antagonism of the Nonconformists. There was also a feeling in some quarters that the only solution lay in a purely secular education. In the midst of the controversy, Lord John Russell announced, in 1839, the creation by Orders in Council of a Select Committee of the Privy Council consisting of the Lord President, the Lord

Privy Seal, the Home Secretary, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting Public Education." The Church, especially that section affected by the Oxford Movement, sprang at once into opposition. Archdeacon Denison foreshadowed a change of front on the part of the National Society when he asserted that since the society had been formed to promote the principles of the Church of England, Nonconformist parents who wished their children to attend National Schools must either agree to allow them to learn the Catechism and attend the services of the Church or stay away altogether. The vote of protest against the establishment of the new committee was defeated by a majority of only five and the education grant of £30,000 was carried by the narrow margin of two votes.

The first act of the committee was to propose the establishment of a training school for teachers at Kneller Hall. This proposal brought matters to a head. The idea had been to give the students a general religious instruction which was not distinctive of any denomination and to appoint a chaplain for each denomination having a sufficient number of students. The opposition was so great that the scheme was dropped. It is interesting to notice that both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli were on the opposition side. The former declared that in practice the proposal amounted to a recognition by the State of all forms of religion. The really solid achievement of the committee in its first year of life was the appointment as secretary of Dr. Kay, afterwards Sir Kay-Shuttleworth. Even this appointment was subject to criticism and Dr. Kay was charged with being a Unitarian and with showing hostility to the Church. As late as 1905, a writer of the National Society inserted the following passage in his book, "Great changes were now intended; the Government, having found in Dr. Kay an able and accomplished Secretary (but as a Nonconformist one not likely to sympathise with Church-school teaching) to undertake the work of an Education Department."¹ Professor Frank Smith has shown conclusively that Dr. Kay was a communicant member of the Church of England.²

The small majority by which the grant of 1839 was carried suggested that at any moment a chance division might put an end

¹ Dean Gregory. *Elementary Education*, National Society, 1905.

² Frank Smith. *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, note pp. 81-2, John Murray, 1923

to State intervention in education. That this did not happen was due entirely to the perseverance and tact of Kay-Shuttleworth, who realised in himself the dual rôle of an able administrator and an understanding and far-seeing educationist. Dr. Kay had been a physician in Manchester during the great cholera epidemic of 1832. His experience of the dirt and squalor and degradation prevalent in certain quarters of the city convinced him that the greatest evils to be fought were those of bad housing and unsatisfactory sanitary conditions, and that education would be one of the most important means of overcoming them. Hence the value he attached to schools, libraries, and Mechanics' Institutes. He wrote, "The infant is the victim of the system. . . . He is ill-fed, dirty, ill-clothed, exposed to cold and neglect; and in consequence, more than one-half of the offspring of the poor die before they have completed their 5th year." There was no accurate knowledge about the state of education in the country. True, the Kerry Report of 1833 had professed to give this information, but it was well known that the statistics given in the report were unreliable. Dr. Kay's descriptions of conditions in Manchester in his pamphlet, *The Moral and Physical Condition of the Working Classes employed in the Cotton Manufacture in Manchester*, inspired a number of influential Manchester citizens to form the Statistical Society to investigate conditions in Manchester, Liverpool, and the surrounding neighbourhood.

Similar societies were formed in London, Leeds, and other provincial towns. The investigations of the Manchester society showed that the schools had deteriorated rather than improved. This was especially true of the private school. "In one of the Manchester dame schools eleven children were found, in a small room, in which one of the children of the Mistress was lying ill in bed of the measles. Another child had died in the same room, of the same complaint, a few days before; and no less than thirty of the usual scholars were then confined at home with the same disease."¹

Conditions in other dame schools and in private adventure schools were almost too horrible to credit. The statistics collected for Manchester showed that the children of school age formed about a quarter of the total population. Of these, two-thirds received some kind of education and the remainder were absolutely

¹ Quoted by Frank Smith, *A History of English Elementary Education*, p. 150.

untouched by any educational influence. In Liverpool, the latter class included more than one half of the child population. A similar investigation of conditions in Leeds revealed that one-eighth of the population was receiving some kind of education, but if the pupils who only attended Sunday Schools were deducted, then only just over two per cent. of the child population or 1 in 49.5 attended day schools. In 1839, owing to the influence of grants in aid of school building, the percentage had risen to 8.23. The result of such inquiries was to condemn the voluntary system and call for measures of State control.

But Dr. Kay was not to stay long in Manchester. The Poor Law Reform Act of 1834 stipulated that children in workhouses should receive three hours' instruction each day. In 1835, he was appointed Assistant Poor Law Commissioner in East Anglia and later transferred to London. He continued the work he had begun in Manchester and coupled it with a careful study of schools and methods of teaching in this country, in Scotland, and on the Continent. All this experience convinced him that the monitorial school was a complete failure. He entirely disagreed with the idea that one child who has been instructed in the subject of the lesson is capable of teaching another. At the same time, visits to Edinburgh and Glasgow, where he saw the work of Wood and Stow, impressed him with the superiority of their methods of class teaching. He found what he was seeking by pure accident. In a certain workhouse school, the master had fallen ill, and when the chairman of the union visited it, he found everything progressing favourably under William Rush, 13 years of age, who was teaching a class with great success. Rush was left to continue the work and the thought was raised in Dr. Kay's mind whether he had found what he was seeking. Kay allowed other boys to do the same in other workhouse schools. These assistants were called pupil-teachers. He saw the value of replacing the monitors by older boys who would serve, as it were, a period of apprenticeship in the art of teaching. When he was transferred to London in 1838, Kay was able to experiment further in the workhouse school at Norwood, which housed 1100 children. He enlisted the help of the master and secured a grant of £500 a year from the Home Office. With the help of this grant he was able, as was mentioned in the previous chapter, to import teachers from Scotland. Alexander Wilson taught at Norwood for a year and a half, and then accepted the offer of the National Society to take charge of their model

school at Westminster. At Norwood, a scheme of handicrafts was introduced and the idea of pupil-teachers given a trial. The experiment attracted a good deal of attention and Norwood received a constant stream of visitors. It was due to the excellent work and the all-round experience that he had gained in education that Dr. Kay was appointed Secretary of the Select Committee of the Privy Council.

Meanwhile, the terrible conditions prevalent in some of the private adventure schools, which were largely unknown to the general public who rarely read reports, were brought home to them in a very vivid way through the publication of *Nicholas Nickleby*. The description of Mr. Squeers and Dotheboys Hall was based on certain schools in North Yorkshire which Dickens had actually visited.

Before he took office, Dr. Kay had realised that his most urgent problem was that of obtaining better teachers in adequate numbers. The monitorial system was not only mechanical ("monitorial humbug" as he once called it) but it ignored an educational influence of the greatest value, the interaction between the immature mind of the pupil and the mature mind of the teacher. Kay wished to replace the monitors by pupil-teachers, but his idea went further than the mere substitution of an older boy for a younger one. He thought that the pupil-teacher should serve an apprenticeship to teaching under the guidance of an experienced headmaster and then proceed to a well-organised training college to complete the training for his profession. Hence, the most immediate necessity was the establishment of training colleges for teachers. We have seen the fate of the proposal for opening a training college in 1839. Kay was actually one of the most important influences behind the proposal, although at that time he had not accepted office. He would not acknowledge defeat and, if the Government was not prepared to open a training college, he would carry through the experiment relying on his own resources. With the assistance of his friend, Mr. Tufnell, he opened in 1840 a training college in the old manor house at Battersea. The college was a residential one, and the domestic side was in charge of Kay's mother and sister. Although he was fully occupied with his official post he managed not only to live at the college but to take a considerable share in the teaching. The students were of two types, pupil-teachers from institutions like Norwood, and older men between the ages of twenty and thirty. The religious instruction was based on the

Anglican Church and the students were required to attend Battersea Parish Church on Sundays. Kay had recently visited the Continent in the company of Tufnell and he had been impressed by the schools of Holland and Switzerland, especially the latter, which had developed under the influence of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg. Hence, Kay adopted as his model for Battersea the Swiss normal schools of Fr. Girard, Fellenberg, and Vehrli. Frank Smith describes the internal economy of Battersea as follows, "The pupils were required to make their own beds, scrub floors, clean their boots, lay the tables, prepare the vegetables; just as out-of-doors they had to look after two cows, three pigs, and three goats, which belonged to the establishment, to clear the neglected garden of weeds, and grow vegetables and fruit for the needs of the community. This healthy labour was to safeguard them from the danger of forming a false estimate of their position in relation to the class to which they belonged. They were Spartan days; all were up at five-thirty (including the tutors, except when prevented by sickness), and domestic duties and garden occupied them till eight o'clock. Meals, school, and garden, alternated through the long day until nine at night, making in all about fourteen hours of mental and bodily labour."¹ It must have been a tough time for some who were not used to such a life, but those who survived it gained in their general physical health and well-being. Many of the pupil-teachers were found to be very backward as regards their own education so that the course began with teaching elementary subjects. The curriculum included mensuration and land surveying, geography, elementary science, accounts, drawing, and music. Kay gave lectures on the theory and practice of education. Unfortunately the struggle to keep the college going was more than the limited resources of Dr. Kay and his friends could stand and by 1842 the deficit had reached over £2000. Dr. Kay left the college on his marriage, when he took by Royal Licence the name of Kay-Shuttleworth. The Government made a tardy grant of £1000 for one year only, and demanded in return the right of inspection in perpetuity. The founders of the college realised that the only way to obtain a sound financial basis for the work was to hand it over to the National Society. This was done in 1843, but the example of Battersea stimulated the Church to undertake a campaign for building training colleges. The result was that by

... ¹ Frank Smith *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, p 107.

1845 the Church of England had established 22 training colleges containing at that date 540 students.

For many years after 1839 education was seriously hindered in its progress by the acute controversies that were based upon the sharp religious differences that existed in the nation. There was no reason except the conflict between the Churches, which extended to a great extent to the political parties also, why a national system of education should not have been evolved in the early years of Victoria's reign. The bitterness showed by the antagonists is largely incomprehensible to the present-day Englishman, who has grown up in an atmosphere of understanding and toleration and who sees the relations of sympathy, goodwill, and co-operation which now obtain between the Anglicans and the Free Churches. Hence, to appreciate the difficulties with which Kay-Shuttleworth had to contend, it is necessary to try to estimate fairly the very different religious situation of the 1840's. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Church of England claimed, with a good deal of justice, that it represented the English nation. Church and State were practically synonymous. The Puritan movement was not so much a movement of separation as a struggle taking place within the Church itself. The Separatists, who dissociated themselves from the Church, and the Roman Catholics, represented a very small minority of the people, and had no political power. We can view the Puritan Rebellion not only as an attempt to replace the personal government of the Crown by the supremacy of Parliament, but also as an endeavour to remodel the whole basis of ecclesiastical government and belief. During the brief years of the Commonwealth, the attempt had been successful, but the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 involved also the restoration of the Church, with the result that considerable numbers of people who were unable to fulfil the conditions of the Clarendon Code found themselves cut off from the Church and in actual hostility towards it. Nevertheless, it is true to say that, until about the end of Anne's reign, the Established Church represented, for practical purposes, the vast majority of the English people. As long as Church and State consisted of almost the same body of people, there was no serious opposition to the claims of the former to control education. During the Whig ascendancy of the 18th century, the Church had entered upon a period of deadness and apathy. Large numbers of the population, still nominally members of the Church, were growing up not so much in hostility to it as almost unaffected by it. The age of apathy

came to an end through the Wesleyan revival, which began as a movement within the Church itself, but which, owing to the lack of sympathy and understanding on the part of the clergy, culminated in the secession of thousands of members who had no special quarrel either with the services of the Church or with its organisation. Thus the situation at the beginning of the 19th century had changed completely and although the Church still had a majority in the nation, it could now no longer claim to represent the whole population. Indeed, many writers considered that its day was done and the time for its disestablishment was at hand. But this view failed to reckon with the vitality which was already asserting itself in the Church. First the Evangelical revival, and then the Oxford Movement, had changed the conditions within the Church and it began to recover in the north of England some of the ground it had lost to Methodism. The Tractarians, though at this time a small minority, influenced great numbers of the clergy who did not follow them in doctrinal matters, and all schools of thought were united in asserting the ancient claim of the Church to the control of education.

The conditions of the 1840's may be summarised thus. In the first place, while the Church represented the majority of the nation, the Nonconformists stood for a large and influential minority. The political parties on the whole were influenced by this grouping. The Tories were supporters of the Church and the Whigs showed an opposite tendency. There were of course many exceptions, but this represents the general lay-out of the political situation.

The Nonconformists resented the claims of the Church to control education, but at the same time, most people, Churchmen and Dissenters alike, agreed that religion was an essential part of education. The secularists were as yet quite a small party. The majority of the schools were in the hands of the National Society. This did not cause a great deal of difficulty in the large towns which had National Schools and undenominational schools existing side by side. It was otherwise in the country villages, where as a rule the only available school was the National School, in which religious instruction was based on the Catechism. Attention has already been drawn to the liberal attitude of the National Society in the early days in providing what in practice amounted to a conscience clause for the children of Dissenters. One effect of the Oxford Movement was that its more extreme adherents insisted upon Church teaching as a condition of entrance to the schools. Thus

Archdeacon Denison said on one occasion, "I cannot take one step in educating a child who has not either received, or is not, if of such an age as to admit of previous teaching, in a definite course of preparation, for holy baptism, and in the latter case I should not admit the child into the school until holy baptism had been received," and on another, "Under no circumstances whatsoever could I consent to admit a single child to a school of which I have the control and management, without insisting most positively and strictly, on the learning of the catechism and on attendance at church on Sunday."

The Dissenters, on the other hand, objected more strongly than ever to Church teaching which they thought was becoming, under the influence of the Tractarians, more and more estranged from the principles of the Reformation. The Church would not entertain any idea of undenominational teaching in the schools, while the Dissenters pointed out that in the division of the Treasury grant, the National Society was getting the lion's share. The Church admitted this, but considered it as justified since the National Society's schools were far more numerous. They pointed with pride to the large number of schools and the Church training colleges which had been built very largely with money subscribed by Church people. Thus any schemes submitted to Parliament which involved the building and maintenance of schools out of rates and taxes failed to receive the necessary support because undenominational teaching was not acceptable to the Church, and the Dissenters argued that if denominational teaching was provided, they would be contributing to the cost of doctrinal teaching with which they strongly disagreed.

One of the duties of the Committee of Council was "to determine in what manner the grants of money made from time to time should be distributed." In June, 1839, the Committee issued a Minute which announced that all future building grants would involve the right of inspection. "The right of inspection will be required by the Committee in all cases; inspectors, authorised by Her Majesty in Council, will be appointed from time to time to visit schools to be henceforth aided by public money: the inspectors will not interfere with the religious instruction, or discipline, or management of the school, it being their object to collect facts and information, and to report the result of their inspections to the Committee of Council." (*Minutes of the Committee of Council*, September 24th, 1839.)

The Church immediately objected to the right of inspection and the National Society claimed to inspect its own schools. Kay-Shuttleworth realised that the way to advance the cause of education was to work in co-operation with the Church and in pursuance of this policy he reached what is generally known as the Concordat of 1840 with the National Society. The Archbishop had the right of nominating persons as inspectors of Church schools. The instructions to the inspectors as regards religious teaching were to be given by the Archbishops, and the instructions issued to them by the Committee of Council were to be shown to the Archbishops before they received sanction. Duplicate copies of the inspectors' reports were to be sent to the Archbishop of the province and the bishop of the diocese. Mr. Tremenhare had already been appointed as inspector, but the Concordat restricted his activities to the schools of the British and Foreign School Society. The Rev. J. Allen was made inspector of Church schools, and Mr. J. Gibson inspector for Scotland.

The real clash of the denominations came in 1843. The reports of the factory inspectors and the two reports of the Children's Employment Commissions revealed a very unsatisfactory state of affairs in the industrial areas where children of a tender age were being employed under conditions which amounted to nothing less than slavery. Sir James Graham introduced a Factory Bill, the educational clauses of which had been discussed with Kay-Shuttleworth. Children between eight and thirteen years of age were prohibited from working more than six and a half hours per day and those of thirteen not more than twelve hours per day. The Bill applied to all children employed in woollen, flax, silk, and cotton factories. No child under eight was to be employed and all children under thirteen were obliged to spend three hours per day in school. The new schools were planned to be built through Government loans and were to be maintained through the poor rates. So far all parties were in agreement, but when the question of the management of the schools was approached, dissension flared up. It was stipulated that the majority of the management committee should be churchmen. The headmaster was also to be a member of the Church of England and to be approved by the bishop. The religious instruction would be based on the Book of Common Prayer and attendance at church was compulsory, though a conscience clause was included which it was thought would appease the Nonconformists. Immediately the proposals

of the Bill became known, the Nonconformists organised opposition throughout the country and the spearhead of the attack was Edward Baines, the Editor of the *Leeds Mercury*. Petitions poured in from every part of the kingdom and Graham made several amendments at the Committee stage. It was all in vain. The clamour grew greater and the Government was obliged to drop the Bill. The Nonconformists were much elated and their victory made them realise their strength, but it also led them to adopt an aggressive attitude not only to the Church but also to the Committee of Council. Graham introduced his Bill again in 1844 with the omission of the controversial clauses.

As the Factory Act of that year, it obliged children between the ages of eight and thirteen to spend either three days or six half-days at school. Thus began the system of "half-timers" which, much to the hindrance of educational efficiency, lingered on to 1918.

At a meeting of the Congregational Union, held at Leeds in 1843, Edward Baines repudiated State control in education and declared for a voluntary system on a religious basis. The Voluntaryists set about raising funds for schools, and by 1851 had opened 364 schools which were independent of State aid. They opened their own training college at Homerton in 1846. The movement spread for a time, but then diminished and finally came to an end in 1867.

Kay-Shuttleworth now turned his attention to what he had always considered his most important aim, that of improving both the supply and the quality of the teachers. In the Minutes of 1846, his scheme of training was announced and it formed the basis of training for many years to come. In the scheme he definitely introduced the pupil-teacher system. Certain schools which had received a favourable report from the inspector were to be recognised as suitable for the training of pupil-teachers. The young person entered upon a five years' apprenticeship at the age of thirteen. His stipend was £10 per annum rising by annual increments of £2 10s. to £20 per annum. One pupil-teacher was allowed for every 25 scholars, and head teachers were required to give them one and a half hours' instruction each school day. For this work head teachers received an addition to their salaries of £5 for one pupil-teacher, £9 for two, and £3 for every additional one. At the end of their apprenticeship the pupil-teachers presented themselves for the Queen's Scholarship examination. Those who were selected were awarded exhibitions to the value of £20 or £25

at a training college. Annual grants were paid to training colleges for each of the three years of training. The unsuccessful candidates were to receive a preference for minor appointments in the Government Revenue departments. Trained teachers were to receive proficiency grants from the Government and old age pensions were to be provided for men and women teachers who had a minimum of 15 years' service in approved schools. Special grants were offered in respect of field gardens and workshops. This involved a larger grant, and in 1847 the Government grant was increased to £100,000. The same year the Committee of Council offered grants for school books and maps on condition that two-thirds of the cost was met by subscriptions. This latter condition was mischievous since the schools which needed the apparatus most were those in poor parishes where it was most difficult to raise money by fees or subscription. Thus in London, four slum parishes with large school populations received £12 0s. 8d. between them, whilst four parishes in well-to-do districts obtained nearly £4,000.

Another important Minute dealt with management clauses which were required to be included in the trust deeds of schools. Four different types of management clause were decided upon for the Church of England, Wesleyan, and Roman Catholic schools, and the schools of the British and Foreign School Society. In the case of the Church schools the incumbent of the parish was to be the chairman of the managers and was given the right to use the school premises as a Sunday School. The incumbent was responsible for the religious instruction and any case of dispute was to be referred to the bishop. The management and control of the school and the appointment or dismissal of the teachers were the concern of the management committee. In Wesleyan schools the minister took the place of the parish clergyman, and in Roman Catholic schools, the priest acted upon a faculty from his bishop. In 1847, the Catholic Poor School Committee was formed and after some delay was recognised as an authority which could receive grants for the building of schools. The priest nominated his committee of managers, but in Church schools the managers were elected from the subscribers. In the British schools the whole committee was elected. The National Society objected to the management clause on the ground that it introduced a distinction between religious and secular education which they could never admit. Archdeacon Denison led the extremists of the National Society and at one time it seemed as though the society would dissolve into two opposing

factions. Fortunately, moderate counsels prevailed and a working compromise was accepted.

One interesting proposal to end religious conflict was made by Dr. Hook, Vicar of Leeds. In a pamphlet published in 1846 entitled, *On the means of rendering more effective the Education of the People*, he suggested a system of schools supported by the rates and under local management, providing secular education only. Religious instruction should be given by the clergy of the different denominations on Sundays and on two afternoons a week. The pamphlet attracted considerable attention and some correspondence passed between Dr. Hook and Kay-Shuttleworth on the matter. After mature consideration, the latter decided to adhere to his original plan of the denominational school with a conscience clause.

Owing to the tremendous pressure of work coupled with the reluctance of the Privy Council to increase his staff, and also to his anxieties about the religious question, Kay-Shuttleworth's health gave way in 1848. After a partial recovery in the following year, he tendered his resignation and the Queen in recognition of his great services to education conferred a baronetcy upon him. He was succeeded by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Lingen.

Kay-Shuttleworth's services to education cannot be better expressed than in Frank Smith's appreciation. "It is the literal truth to say that he had in those ten years, laid the ground plan of English elementary education. 'To him, more than anyone else,' says Sir Michael Sadler, 'we owe it that England is supplied with schools for the children of her people, and that this costly work has been accomplished without a breach between Church and State.' What had seemed impossible in 1839 was, by 1849, almost achieved in its main outlines, and the victory was on the side of tolerance and reason. . . . Under his guidance and by his directive force a silent revolution had been started in the schools, which in the end transformed them."¹

The denominational disputes referred to above led to the rise of a Secularist party consisting of many able and thoughtful men who, despairing of reaching agreement in any other way, advocated purely secular instruction in the schools, leaving religious education to the clergy. Several ineffective attempts were made in Parliament in 1850 and 1851 to secure an Act setting up a national system of

¹ Frank Smith. *A History of English Elementary Education*, p 211.

secular schools. The Secularists started from the Lancashire Public School Association which by 1850 had become the National Public School Association. They never succeeded in persuading Parliament or the nation, which was united in the belief that all education should rest on a religious basis.

During the period of religious controversy, the Committee of Council had been quietly issuing its Minutes and gradually asserting public control over education. Its work is a very interesting example of the use of delegated powers of legislation about which we hear so much at the present time. Most people, until the publication of Lord Hewart's *New Despotism*, had not realised the extent to which government is carried on by a bureaucracy by means of delegated powers, and even now it is thought that this is a recent innovation. The Committee of Council had been established in 1839 by an Act of the Royal Prerogative and its Minutes were issued without Parliamentary authority for the most part, since the only time for discussing them was when the annual grant was submitted to the House. The accumulation of power in the hands of the administrative officials did not pass without notice. For example, in 1852 the Committee ruled that in all schools receiving grants a conscience clause must be inserted in the trust deeds. This was bitterly opposed by the National Society, and when the matter was discussed in the House of Lords, Earl Derby pointed out that most of the important decisions made by the Committee of the Council were issued when Parliament was in recess and the education grant for the year had been passed. Again, it was an Order in Council that raised the Committee in 1856 to the status of an Education Department. The Lord President was to remain the chief of the new department, but he was to be represented in the House of Commons by a Vice-President who would be responsible to the House for the expenditure and administration of the department. The Vice-President was selected by the Prime Minister when he chose his Cabinet and thus his term of office ended when the particular party in power, of which he was a member, ceased to have a majority in the House. Thus the progress of education became definitely linked with politics and on many occasions the tendency to regard education from the point of view of the policy of the party in power rather than from its relation to the children of the country has shown itself. The occasion of the formation of the Education Department was chosen by Lord Monteagle to

express his belief "that the Committee of Council was in constitution and principle one of the worst modes of administration. The members were ill-assorted; some could not attend for want of time; others had not the knowledge or opportunity of understanding the functions that nominally devolved upon them; and, as the result, the real power was in the hands of subordinate persons."¹ As Holman says a little later in the same book, "It is almost amusing to notice how the Committee of Council managed to introduce into the actual working of the system of schools most of the principles and regulations advocated by the more advanced thinkers of the time, discussed and rejected by Parliament, and resented and resisted by the Church party. . . . The force of public opinion must have been very weighty and strong to allow of these things being done in the teeth, so to say, of an adverse parliament, and of the Church party, who perceived and strenuously resisted the tendency and purpose which, they declared, underlay them. . . . Indeed it was only by the very perfection of the genius of compromise and graceful concessions that the committee escaped with its life on several occasions."²

In 1857, Sir J. Pakington, who had introduced an abortive Bill in 1855, secured the appointment of a Royal Commission, under the chairmanship of the Duke of Newcastle, "to inquire into the present state of education in England, and to consider and report what measures, if any, are required for the extension of sound and cheap elementary instruction to all classes of people." The report of the Newcastle Commission was issued in 1861 and on the whole was optimistic in character. The Commissioners professed to be quite content with the system by which schools were provided by voluntary bodies with the assistance of Government grants and gave as their opinion that universal education was neither attainable nor desirable. They deprecated the giving of rate aid to schools on account of religious difficulties which would arise, but declared themselves satisfied with the wide diffusion of education and ignored the fact that there were still many areas without schools or with inadequate provision. The diagram on page 142 summarises the relevant statistics.

The Commissioners, however, were not so happy about the attendance of the children. Even in the inspected schools, the attendance amounted to only 76 1 per cent. of the pupils on roll and

¹ Holman, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 149.

was distributed over about four years in the case of children between six and twelve years of age. 17 per cent. of the pupils attended less than 50 days in the year, 19 per cent. between 50 and 100 days, 23 per cent. for 150 days and only 41 per cent. attended 176 days, the minimum period fixed for payment of a grant. In the inspected schools, owing to the fact that only a minority of the children remained at school after ten years of age, the Commission considered

NEWCASTLE COMMISSION 1858-1861

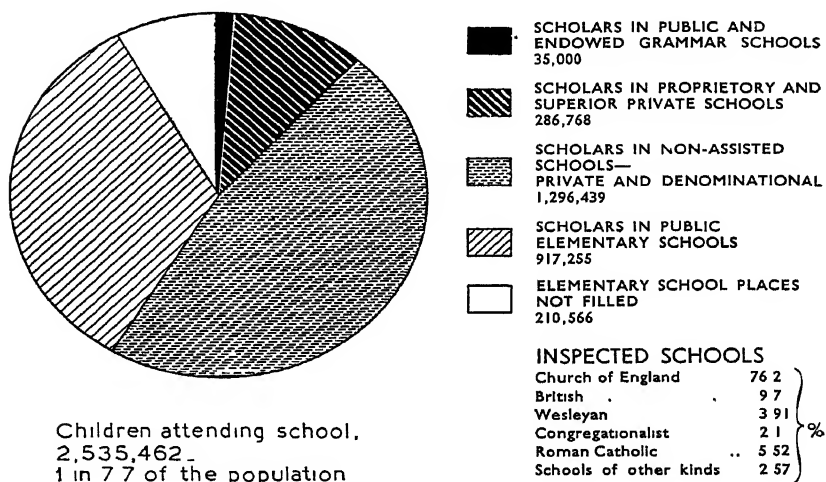


FIG. 1.

that not more than a quarter of the pupils were receiving a satisfactory education.¹

While the Commission thought the basis of the existing system quite sound, they pointed to a number of defects. The instruction of the inspected schools was undoubtedly superior to that in other schools, but the inspectors' reports were not altogether reliable because they judged the achievements of the older rather than the younger scholars. Inspection tended to raise the standards of the school, but it also had an adverse effect in leading the teacher to

¹ The statistics for Leeds in 1857 were: average leaving age 9.59 years, average length of schooling 4.73 years, percentage who had previously attended an infants' school 51.75. Average rate of wages obtained on leaving school varied from 3s. 2d. to 5s. per week.

place overmuch reliance on memory at the expense of reason. The teachers were tempted to concentrate their efforts on the older children and to neglect the groundwork of the three R's amongst the juniors. The moral and religious influences of the schools were greater than their intellectual influence, and in many cases good schools had civilised the whole neighbourhood in which they were set.

They were very concerned with the large number of pupils who attended uninspected schools where little or no improvement had occurred since the early days of the century. Speaking of the Dame schools, they described the mistress as "generally advanced in life and their school is usually their kitchen, sitting and bedroom." The room was "often so small that the children stand in a semi-circle round the teacher. Indeed, I have seen the children as closely packed as birds in a nest, and tumbling over each other like puppies in a kennel."¹ Speaking of the masters, Dr. Hodgeson reported, "None are too old, too poor, too ignorant, too feeble, too sickly, too unqualified in one or every way, to regard themselves, and to be regarded by others, as unfit for school-keeping. Nay, there are few, if any, occupations regarded as incompatible with school-keeping, if not as simultaneous, at least as preparatory employments. Domestic servants out of place, discharged barmaids, vendors of toys or lollipops, keepers of small eating-houses, of mangles, or of small lodging houses, needlewomen who take in plain or slop work, milliners, consumptive patients in an advanced stage, cripples almost bedridden, persons of at least doubtful temperance, outdoor paupers, men and women of seventy and even eighty years of age, persons who spell badly (mostly women, I grieve to say), who can scarcely write and who cannot cipher at all."² Again, "When other occupations fail for a time, a private school can be opened, with no capital beyond the cost of a ticket in the window. Any room, however small and close, serves for the purpose; the children sit on the floor, and bring what books they please; whilst the closeness of the room renders fuel superfluous, and even keeps the children quiet by its narcotic effects. If the fees do not pay the rent, the school is dispersed or taken by the next tenant."³

The reaction of the Commissioners to the reports of their assistants was astounding. They recommended that private schools

¹ *Report*, Vol. I, p. 29.

² *Ibid.*, p. 93.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

should receive aid if the school were properly ventilated and drained and if the inspector reported favourably on it. The reason given was that under these conditions most private schools would be ruled out and a better type of individual would be encouraged to open schools.

A further suggestion was to admit to the teachers' certificate examination any persons who had a good moral character and had kept a school for three years. The Commission ascribed the popularity of private schools to the fact that the parents thought the pupils more respectable, "that the teachers are more inclined to comply with their wishes, that the children are better cared for, and that they themselves, in choosing such schools for their children, stand in an independent position, and are not accepting a favour from their social superiors."¹

The suggestions of the Commission may be summarised as follows:—

There should be no interference in the religious instruction given by the different denominations. All grants should be paid to the school managers from whom the teachers should receive their salaries. They recommended the simplification of the system of grants and suggested that they should be reduced to two types:—

- (a) A grant paid by the Government out of general taxation and dependent on attendance and the fulfilment of certain conditions by the managers and a satisfactory report from the inspectors.
- (b) A sum derived from the county rates based on the result of an examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic, conducted by examiners appointed by county and borough boards.

The Government grant should be calculated on the average attendance and should not be more than 6s. or less than 5s. 6d. per head in schools having under 60 pupils, and not more than 4s. 6d. per head for larger schools. An additional grant of 2s. 6d. per child under the instruction of a qualified pupil-teacher or assistant teacher could be earned. Thirty children were allowed for each pupil-teacher and 60 for each assistant teacher. The amount of these grants would vary according to the inspectors' reports.

Aid from the county rate could be claimed for each child who had attended at least 140 days in the year and had passed the

¹ *Report*, Vol. I, p. 96.

prescribed examination in the three R's (with the addition of plain needlework for girls). The aid given by the county rate should range from 21s. to 22s. 6d., but children under seven would not be examined. A grant of 20s. would be paid on them based on the average number of children in daily attendance. The combined grants from the Government and the rates must not exceed the fees and subscriptions, or 15s. per head on the average attendance. The grants were dependent on an inspector's certificate that the school was healthy, properly drained, ventilated, and supplied with offices, and that the main schoolroom contained eight square feet of superficial area.

The suggestions of the Commissioners were quite inadequate to meeting the urgent problems of education at that time. The Report, like the majority of reports, was frankly a compromise and its seeming unanimity concealed many divergent views. We know, for instance, that Matthew Arnold was not in agreement with some of the statements which he thought had been reached on insufficient evidence. We have already drawn attention to the weakness of the Commission in their suggestions about the large number of inefficient private schools. Another important problem, the fact that only a small proportion of scholars stayed long enough at school to reach the higher classes, was complacently set on one side.

They accepted the fact that most children left school at the age of ten and concluded that nothing could be done without raising the leaving age. Hence, they emphasised the two points of irregular attendance at school and the pupils' alleged lack of proficiency in the three R's.

During the session of the Commission, Mr. Lingen had complained that the regulations concerning grants and inspection were contained in the Minutes of the Committee of Council and in the reports of the Department and were not readily available. Mr. Robert Lowe, who had been appointed Vice-President of the Department in 1859, had them collected together and issued as the Code of 1860.

Robert Lowe's name will always be associated with the system of "Payment by Results" which he inaugurated in the Revised Code of 1862. Probably no man has been so universally condemned by educationists as Lowe and some have gone so far as to apply the epithets of 'knave' and "tyrant" ¹

¹ Kenneth Richmond. *Education in England*, pp 7, 154, Pelican Books, 1945.

Lowe was a product of Winchester and New College, Oxford, where he distinguished himself as a scholar. For some years he acted as a private coach and an examiner. Lord Bryce relates a story of Lowe in his capacity as examiner for Responsions. A friend visited him whilst he was conducting a *viva* and asked how the examination was progressing. Lowe is supposed to have replied, "Excellently. Five men plucked already, and the sixth very shaky."¹ Such a story reveals two important characteristics in his make-up, namely his love of efficiency and his impatience with the shortcomings of other people. After a visit to Australia, where he played a considerable part in politics, Lowe returned to take up a political career at home. He was a Liberal but his ideas were more at one with the aristocratic Whigs of an earlier period than with the newer Liberals led by such men as Gladstone and Forster. Nevertheless, he had a great affection for Gladstone and later in his career, when he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in Gladstone's first Ministry, he achieved fame through his speeches in defence of his chief.

When he was appointed to the office of Vice-President of the Education Department, the idea of competition was in the air. Darwin's *Origin of Species* had familiarised the public with the notions of the "struggle for existence" and the "survival of the fittest." Lowe, as a convinced free-trader, firmly believed in the value of competition as a means of selection. Some time before accepting the office he maintained that by throwing open certain minor Post Office appointments to competition, the cost of education could be reduced. The growing amount of the grant for education was a cause of concern in some quarters. Public expenditure on education had grown from £125,000 in 1850 to £836,920 in 1859. Lowe argued that if his suggestion were accepted the poor would thereby be encouraged to look after the education of their children for their own benefit.

Certain Civil Service appointments were already being awarded on the results of a competitive examination and this development had received the warm approval of Horace Mann, who thought it would encourage parents to keep their children longer at school.

Examinations had also begun to enter the secondary schools, though their adoption was slow, as the Taunton Commission

¹ Lord Bryce. *Studies in Contemporary Biography*, p. 301, note, Macmillan, 1903.

showed. The College of Preceptors began their school examinations in 1853 and the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations started in 1857. Inspectors had been urging pupil-teachers and assistant teachers to take London Matriculation. A few years later, the Taunton Commission recommended periodic examination of schools supervised by a council of examinations, and the Rev. J. P. Norris, H.M.I., giving evidence before the Commissioners, stated, "The studies of the classroom must be those wherein progress can be definitely measured by examination. For examination is to the student what the target is to the rifleman; there can be no definite aim, no real training without it."¹

At the same time a feeling was growing, especially amongst the business section of the community, that in spite of the enormously increased grants in aid of education, the nation was not getting value for money, though Lowndes warns us that too much emphasis must not be placed on this. Speaking of Payment by Results, he says, "The origin of the system does not, as some historians have too readily assumed, appear to have been entirely due to the blind demand of mid-Victorian parliamentary thought for a visible demonstration of value received for money expended. This demand no doubt played a substantial part."²

Lowe was primarily an administrator and a politician and it was unfortunate in many ways that he was called upon to exercise the functions of Vice-President of the Education Department at this time. As an administrator, he had many points to recommend him. His love of efficiency, his quick logical mind, which led him to grasp the essential features of a situation but which frequently played him false by suggesting generalisations without counting all the relevant facts, and his ruthless determination to go ahead once his mind was made up, were characteristics that inspired the respect of some but the intense dislike of many more. Sidney Low, speaking of his work as Chancellor of the Exchequer, says, "He was a man of much intellectual power and dauntless energy . . . and he carried into his new office an aptitude for giving offence which almost amounted to genius. When Robert Lowe saw a head in his way he was pretty sure to hit it—especially if the head was a soft one."³

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission Report*, Vol. IV, p. 60.

² G. A. N. Lowndes. *The Silent Social Revolution*, p. 8, O.U.P., 1937.

³ Sidney Low. *Political History of England*, Vol. XII, p. 223, Longmans, 1907.

He never claimed to be an educationist. There is a story that when an H.M.I. went to consult him, Lowe said, "I know what you've come about, the science of education. There is none. Good morning." Any views he had about education were simply the product of his political and economic outlook, which in some ways belonged to the end of the 18th century. In an oft-quoted passage in the pamphlet *Primary and Classical Education*, 1867, he wrote, "I do not think it is any part of the duty of the Government to prescribe what people should learn, except in the case of the poor, where time is so limited that we must fix upon a few elementary subjects to get anything done at all . . . The lower classes ought to be educated to discharge the duties cast upon them. They should also be educated that they may appreciate and defer to a higher cultivation when they meet it, and the higher classes ought to be educated in a very different manner, in order that they may exhibit it to the lower classes that higher education to which, if it were shown to them, they would bow down and defer." Note Lowe's reference to the shortness of time available at school. The people who should have known better, the members of the Newcastle Commission, had made no suggestions about prolonging the period children spent at school, but had complacently assumed that the economic system which encouraged an early school-leaving age was incapable of modification. It is, therefore, not surprising to find Lowe openly contemptuous of democracy and putting forth every effort to defeat the Reform Bill of 1867. When the Bill had become law, he realised that a democracy can only be successful if it is an educated democracy, and he coined the famous epigram, "We must educate our masters."

Was there anything else in Lowe's mind which helped to shape his policy? It is here that Lowe the administrator peeps out. The state of affairs in the Education Department was causing him some alarm. The increase in grants and the consequent growth of the number of schools from 46,042 in 1850 to 58,975 in 1859 had thrown more and more administrative work on an already overburdened and understaffed department. This had been one of the causes of Kay-Shuttleworth's illness and retirement in 1849. Since then the burden had increased and a parsimonious Treasury was always reluctant to sanction additional administrative staff and inspectors. As Lord Lingen pointed out many years later when he gave evidence before the Cross Commission, the Government grants had always been paid to individuals. Every pupil-teacher drew

his stipend through the Post Office by means of an order made out to him personally, and assistant teachers received their grants in much the same way. One simplification of the administrative procedure would be to rule that in future all grants should be paid to the school managers who would then be responsible for allocating them to the staff. Lowe's acute mind seized upon this as a desirable measure of decentralisation, and he made it a permanent feature of the method of paying the annual grants. Holman points out that the principle of Payment by Results was already latent in the Department as early as 1857. The Education Department had replied to an inquirer that teachers had no claim whatever upon the capitation grants, but "at the same time my lords would not disapprove of an arrangement whereby the teacher was given some interest in obtaining the capitation grant, *e.g.* a percentage upon it in addition to the salary otherwise assured to him. Any such plan, however, both in principle and detail, rests exclusively upon the discretion of the managers."¹ There is, therefore, good reason to believe that Lowe had made up his mind before he read the report of the Newcastle Commission, but when he perused it, his attention was attracted by the following paragraph: Speaking of the means of securing increased efficiency of school instruction, the Commissioners had said, "There is only one way of securing this result, which is to institute a searching examination by competent authority of every child in every school to which grants are paid, with a view to ascertaining whether these indispensable elements of knowledge are thoroughly acquired, and to make the prospects and position of the teacher dependent to a considerable extent on the results of this examination."²

When he submitted the education estimates of 1861, Lowe proposed to cancel the Code of 1860 and to substitute for it his suggestions as contained in the Revised Code, which was presented to Parliament at the end of the session, July 29th, 1861. The suggestion of the Commission about the establishment of county and borough education boards with power to contribute from the rates was rejected. Lowe concentrated on the two defects mentioned in the report, irregularity of attendance and the meagre accomplishment of the younger scholars in reading, writing, and arithmetic. In future all grants would be paid to managers on the principle of Payment by Results. "Hitherto," he said, "we have been living under a system of bounties and protection; now

¹ Holman, *op cit*, pp. 136-7. ² *Newcastle Commission Report*, Vol I, p. 157.

we propose to have a little free trade." Lowe's proposals raised a growing volume of protest from teachers, managers, clergy, and educationists. It is recorded that out of the thousands of petitions sent to both Houses of Parliament, only one petition in favour of the proposals was received. As a result of the protests and the Parliamentary criticisms, Lowe postponed the issue of the Revised Code until 1862. When it appeared, certain modifications had been made. Originally children from three to seven were to have been included in the examination, but he had realised the absurdity of this proposal. The training college grants which were to have been annulled were to continue for the time being. The Revised Code would not apply to Scotland and certain modifications were made with regard to the amount and the conditions of grant. With these exceptions, however, Lowe retained his general principles. As he told Parliament, "I cannot promise the House that this system will be an economical one, and I cannot promise that it will be an efficient one, but I can promise that it shall be either one or the other. If it is not cheap, it shall be efficient; if it is not efficient, it shall be cheap." In its final form, the Code made two conditions for grant: attendance, and results in examination. An attendance was reckoned as two hours' instruction in the morning or afternoon and one and a half hours in the evening, but evening attendances only applied to pupils over twelve years of age. A grant of 4s. per scholar according to the average number in attendance throughout the year at the morning and afternoon meetings of the school would be paid, together with a grant of 2s. 6d. per scholar for the evening meetings of the school. For children under six, a grant of 6s. 6d. would be made subject to a satisfactory report from the inspector. The remainder of the grant was to be dependent on the result of the annual examination. Every scholar who attended more than 200 morning or afternoon meetings of the school and passed the examination would earn a grant of 8s. Evening scholars who attended not less than 24 evening meetings and passed the examination would earn a grant of 5s.

If the scholar failed to pass the examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic, the amount of 2s. 8d. was forfeited for each subject in which he failed, and in the case of evening students, 1s. 8d. for each subject was deducted. The children were to be grouped in six standards and no child could be examined a second time in the same standard. The syllabus for the examination in each of the standards was as follows:—

Reading	STANDARD I Narrative monosyllables	STANDARD II One of the narratives next in order after monosyllables in an elementary reading book used in the school	STANDARD III A short paragraph from an elementary reading book used in the school
Writing.	Form on blackboard or slate, from dictation, letters, capital and small, manuscript.	Copy in manuscript character a line of print.	A sentence from the same paragraph slowly read once and then dictated in single words
Arithmetic	Form on blackboard or slate, from dictation, figures up to 20, name at sight figures up to 20, add and subtract figures up to 10, orally, from examples on blackboard	A sum in simple addition or subtraction, and the multiplication table.	A sum in any simple rule as far as short division (inclusive).

Reading.	STANDARD IV A short paragraph from a more advanced reading book used in the school	STANDARD V A few lines of poetry from a reading book used in the first class of the school	STANDARD VI A short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative.
Writing	A sentence slowly dictated once by a few words at a time, from the same book, but not from the paragraph read.	A sentence slowly dictated once, by a few words at a time, from a reading book used in the first class of the school.	Another short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper, or other modern narrative, slowly dictated once by a few words at a time.
Arithmetic	A sum in compound rules (money).	A sum in compound rules (common weights and measures)	A sum in practice or bills of parcels.

All girls must receive instruction in plain needlework. The grant could be withheld or reduced if the inspector was not satisfied with the condition of the school, *e.g.* the school building must be properly lighted, drained, ventilated, and supplied with offices, and must contain 80 cubic feet of internal space for each child in average attendance. The head teacher should be certificated and various conditions as regards the number of pupil-teachers and assistant teachers had to be complied with. The documents such as the log book had to be kept up to date.

When the inspector's report was sent to the managers by the Education Department, it was to be entered in the log book by the secretary of the managers. Lay persons alone could be recognised as teachers in elementary schools. The examination syllabus for each of the five years of the pupil-teacher's apprenticeship was detailed in the Code, and the pupil-teachers were to be paid by the managers from the annual grant. The provision for granting pensions to teachers who retired after a minimum of 15 years' service was annulled for those who entered after the Revised Code, but the pension rights of existing teachers were to be respected. In the instructions to H.M.I.'s on working the Code, the following paragraph occurred, "The grant to be made to each school depends, as it has ever done, upon the school's whole character and work. The grant is offered for attendance in a school with which the inspector is satisfied . . . You will judge every school by the same standard that you have hitherto used, as regards its religious, moral, and intellectual merits. The examination under Article 48 does not supersede this judgment, but presupposes it. That Article does not prescribe that, *if this much is done a grant shall be paid* but, *unless this much is done no grant shall be paid*. . . . If you keep these distinctions steadily in view, you will see how little the scope of your duties is changed."

Detailed instructions about the method of conducting the examinations were issued to the inspectors, *e.g.* "You will begin with writing and arithmetic, and you will direct the teachers to see that all who are to be examined under Standard I, have before them a slate and pencil; under Standards II and III a slate, a pencil, and a reading book, all under Standards IV-VI, a half sheet of folio paper, a pen, ink, and the appropriate reading book. You will then call 'Standard I, stand up throughout the school.'" When the children had been checked, the inspector was to give the order, "Standard I, sit down, and write on your slates as I dictate." The same procedure was to be observed throughout the school. Then the examination in arithmetic and reading followed. The standard for a pass was the mark "fair." "The word *fair* means that *Reading* is intelligible, though not quite good; *Dictation* legible, and rightly spelt in all common words though the writing may need improvement, and less common words may be misspelt; *Arithmetic*, right in method, and at least one sum free from error."

How far was the Revised Code cheap and efficient? From the narrow point of view it was cheap. The cost to the country because

of a diminishing annual grant was considerably lessened. The grant, which had reached £813,441 in 1862, fell steadily to its low-water mark of £636,806 in 1865. But cheapness cannot be considered apart from efficiency. Was the nation really getting value for money? Kay-Shuttleworth prophesied the results of the Revised Code; a loss in grant to the schools of about £175,000 a year (actually it came to £190,000), a decrease in the number and quality of the pupil-teachers (from 13,237 in 1860 to 8,937 in 1866, but after this numbers began to rise), a lowering of the standards of instruction in both the schools and the training colleges, and a reduction in teachers' salaries. The number of certificated teachers increased, but this was offset by the total number of teachers, which remained stationary although the school population increased from 751,325 in 1860 to 871,309 in 1866. This resulted in larger classes. In 1860 the average number of scholars per teacher was 37.7 but this had risen to 43.4 in 1866. The new regulations certainly produced a better average attendance; the pupils remained longer at school and teachers concentrated on the younger and duller children with, now, a neglect of the older and brighter ones. The Code speeded up the development of evening classes. Before 1862, evening schools were hampered because certificated teachers had not been allowed to teach both in the day and in the evening. When this restriction was withdrawn, evening classes grew more numerous but many of the students were of poor quality. Most of the adolescents and the adults who attended were presented for examination in Standards I and II. Holman says, quite justly, "The author of the revised code is far too often exclusively reviled by critics as the author of payment by results, and no regard is paid to the fact that he certainly made the best of a bad business. He was a strong man, a clear thinker, and a determined and inflexible ruler, with a well-thought-out plan designed to secure definite returns for large outlay. And he was successful. The results which he demanded and obtained were at any rate better than the absence of results in respect of three-fourths of the pupils, as had been previously the case. If for nothing else, Mr. Lowe deserves our thanks for having perpetrated a blunder, which has been one more step to our blundering out of blunders."¹ Lowndes suggests an aspect which has seldom been considered when he writes, "We can now appreciate after 70 years' effort to build an educational system fit to be the servant of the nation, not the servant of the political

¹ Holman, *op. cit.*, pp 170-1.

state, that the infinitely diverse needs of modern civilisation can never be met by one system of schools unified under rigid public control, still less by a system at the mercy of successive party machines. Perhaps, Robert Lowe, in apparently doing a grave injustice to a whole generation, in reality by this early measure of decentralisation saved English education once and for all from the pitfalls which have ensnared the systems of so many other countries; notably Germany, Italy, and to a less extent France.”¹

So much for the credit account; what is to be said on the debit side? Important evidence comes from the inspectors. Some, such as Sir J. Fitch, were favourable in their comments, but even he criticised the formal and mechanical spirit introduced into school work. Matthew Arnold's reports are most illuminating. In the report for 1863, he noticed certain changes after one year of the Code. One good effect was the improvement of the school reading books. “At last the compilers of these works seem beginning to understand that the right way of teaching a little boy to read is not by setting him to read such sentences as these—‘the crocodile is viviparous,’ ‘quicksilver, antimony, calamine, zinc, etc., are metals,’ ‘the slope of a desk is oblique, the corners of a door are angles’; or the right way of teaching a big boy to read better, to set him to read: ‘some time after one meal is digested we feel again the sensation of hunger which is gratified by again taking food’; ‘most towns are supplied with water and lighted by gas, their streets are paved and kept clean, and guarded by policemen’; ‘summer ornaments for grates are made of wood shavings and of different coloured papers.’ Reading books are now published which reject all such trash as the above, and contain nothing but what has really some fitness for reaching the end which reading books were meant to reach.”²

Matthew Arnold thought the new examination compared unfavourably with the old inspection. Speaking of the latter, he said, “The whole life and power of a class, the fitness of its composition, its handling by the teacher were well tested; the Inspector became well acquainted with them, and was enabled to make his remarks on them to the head teacher, and a powerful means of correcting, improving, and stimulating them was thus given.”³ The examination did not afford this opportunity because the children

¹ G. A. N. Lowndes, *op. cit.*, p. 11

² Board of Education. *Reports on Elementary Schools*, by Matthew Arnold, H.M.S.O., 1910.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

were examined by standards which did not always correspond with the class. "I know that the aim and object of the new system of examination is not to develop the higher intellectual life of an elementary school, but to spread and fortify, in its middle and lower portions, the instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, supposed to be suffering. I am not contesting the importance of this subject, or the adequacy of the means offered by the new examination for attaining it. I am only pointing out the real value of a certain mode of operation on schools which the old inspection undoubtedly supplied, and which the new examination does not and by its nature cannot supply."¹

Under the old system, the inspector's visit tested and quickened the intellectual life of a school, but the examination had changed the centre of interest. "Scholars and teachers, have their thoughts directed straight upon the new examination, which will bring, they know, such important benefit to the school if it goes well, and bring such important loss if it goes ill. On the examination day they have not minds for anything else."² The examination pressed hardly upon the younger element of the school which was affected by nervousness and therefore did not do itself justice.

Arnold had been investigating systems of secondary education on the Continent in 1865 for the Schools Inquiry Commission, so that his next report was in 1867. During his visit he had opportunities of seeing elementary schools in several European countries and he was now able to review the Revised Code in clearer perspective. His report was distinctly unfavourable. "I cannot say that the impression made upon me by the English schools at this second return to them has been a hopeful one. I find in them, in general, if I compare them with their former selves, a deadness, a slackness, and a discouragement which are not the signs and accompaniments of progress. If I compare them with the schools of the Continent I find in them a lack of intelligent life much more striking now than it was when I returned from the Continent in 1859. This change is certainly to be attributed to the school legislation of 1862."³

One change he regretted was the decline in number of pupil-teachers whom he had once described as "the sinews of English public instruction." He thought the real evil of English schools at that time was the irregular attendance and early leaving age of the

¹ Board of Education *Reports on Elementary Schools*, pp. 92-4.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 94-5.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-3.

pupils and not the lack of intelligence, of initiative, and the prevalence of mechanical modes of instruction "The mode of teaching in the primary schools has certainly fallen off in intelligence, spirit, and inventiveness during the four or five years which have elapsed since my last report. It could not well be otherwise. In a country where every one is prone to rely too much on mechanical processes, and too little on intelligence, a change in the Education Department's regulations, which by making two-thirds of the Government grant depend on a mechanical examination, inevitably gives a mechanical turn to the school teaching, a mechanical turn to the inspection is, and must be, trying to the intellectual life of the school" ¹

In 1867, a complicated Minute designed to give aid to small schools, to increase pupil-teachers, and to add another subject to the three R's, had been introduced. Arnold remarked that this action revealed the decay into which the teaching of language, history, and geography, had fallen and that the grant for the specific subject was so small and saddled with such complications, that many of the schools in his district declined to have anything to do with it. Such a palliative could not cure the evils wrought by the Revised Code. "More free play for the Inspector, and more free play, in consequence, for the teacher, is what is wanted." He warned the Department, "In the game of mechanical contrivances the teachers will in the end beat us; and as it is now found possible, by ingenious preparation, to get children through the Revised Code examination in reading, writing, and ciphering, without their really knowing how to read, write, or cipher, so it will with practice, no doubt, be found possible to get three-fourths of the one-fifth of the children over six through the examination in grammar, geography, and history, without their really knowing any one of these matters." ²

Two years later he wrote, "I have repeatedly said that it seems to me the great fault of the Revised Code, and of the famous plan of payment by results, that it fosters teaching by rote; I am of that opinion still." He quoted the opinion of a colleague that, "Unless a rigorous effort is made to infuse more intelligence into its teaching, *Government arithmetic* will soon be known as a modification of the science peculiar to inspected schools, and remarkable chiefly for its meagreness and sterility." ³ He summed

¹ Board of Education *Reports on Elementary Schools*, pp. 112-13.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 115-16. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

up his criticism of the Code in the words, "It tends to make the instruction mechanical, and to set a bar to duly extending it. School grants earned in the way fixed by the Revised Code—by the scholar performing a certain minimum expressly laid down beforehand—must inevitably concentrate the teacher's attention on the means of producing this minimum, and not simply on the good instruction of his school."¹

Kay-Shuttleworth found his prophecies were true. In his *Memorandum on Popular Education*, 1868, he wrote, "The Revised Code has constructed nothing. It has only pulled down. . . It has not succeeded in being efficient, but it is not even cheap; for it wastes the public money without producing the results which were declared to be its main object."²

When the Code was being discussed in Parliament he had protested in his book, *Four Periods of Education*, 1862, that an examination in the three R's was no real measure of the work that a school was doing. He selected two pictures of districts he knew well to illustrate his argument. One was the manufacturing areas of Lancashire and Yorkshire. Speaking of the children, he said, "They probably have never lived but in a hovel; have never been in a street of a village or a town; are unacquainted with common usages of social life; perhaps never saw a book; are bewildered by the rapid motion of crowds; confused in an assemblage of scholars." Such were the children who had migrated from their native moors to the industrial districts. "They have to be taught to stand upright—to walk without a slouching gait—to sit without crouching like a sheep dog. They have to learn some decency in their skin, hair, and dress. They are commonly either cowed or sullen, or wild, fierce, and obstinate. In the street they are often in a tumult of rude agitation. In the school they are probably classed with scholars some years younger than themselves. They have no habits of attention, and are distracted by the babel of sounds about them. The effort of abstraction required to connect sound with a letter is at first impossible to them. Their parents are almost equally brutish. They have lived solitary lives in some wild region, where the husband has been a shepherd, or hind, or quarryman, or miner, or turf-cutter, or has won a precarious livelihood as a carrier, driver of loaded lime ponies, or poacher. The pressing wants of a growing family have induced them to accept

¹ Board of Education. *Reports on Elementary Schools*, pp. 134-5.

² P 30, Ridgway, 1868.

the offer of some agent from a mill. From personal experience of many years, I know that such children as these form a large portion of the scholars which the schools of the cotton and woollen districts have to civilise and Christianise." The other district was the East End of London. "A different kind of brutishness is shown by a large class of scholars in the most degraded parts of great cities. A London child living in a street of brothels and thieves' dens, with parents leading abandoned lives, spends his day in the kennel among sharp-witted, restless little creatures like himself. He is his own master. His powers of observation are singularly acute; his powers of decision rapid; his will energetic. He is known as 'the arab of the street.' He learns a great deal of evil. Perhaps he is an accomplished thief or beggar, or picks up a precarious living by holding horses, sweeping a crossing, or costermongering. Such children have of late years been netted in shoals—got into schools, have been won, tamed, and in some degree taught. But is it not a mischievous fallacy to say that the work done is to be measured by the proficiency of such children in reading, writing, and arithmetic? All that has been done has been done against wind and tide. At home—misery, drunkenness, sullen despair, or the irritability of a dissolute life drive the child into the streets. Bad example lends its corruption to the foulness of the street of stews and hiding-holes. Are twenty scattered weeks, even if repeated in three successive years, enough to get rid of the wild untamed barbarism of such children, and to graft on this civilisation that amount of knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic which the Commissioners say is so easy?"¹

The effect of the Code upon the teachers was distressing. They were sorely tempted to falsify the register to make sure of earning their livelihood and it is greatly to their credit that so few cases of dishonesty occurred. The author remembers the exaggerated importance attached to attendance registers. When he was a student in school practice many years after the Revised Code had disappeared, instructions were issued to the school with regard to action in case of fire. The first duty of the teacher was to secure his register and then he would lead the children by the authorised exit into the playground. Teachers and managers alike concentrated on the grant and ways of earning it. Some of the devices

¹ Kay-Shuttleworth. *Four Periods of Education*, pp. 583-5, note, Longmans, 1862.

which Matthew Arnold hinted at, are described in Lowndes, *Silent Social Revolution*.¹

Teachers and managers were so eager to earn the grant that children were compelled to get up from the sick-bed and attend the examination. Inspectors reported instances where children suffering from scarlet fever and other diseases presented themselves for the examination. "To hear paroxysms of whooping-cough, to observe the pustules of small-pox, to see infants wrapped up and held in their mothers' arms, or seated on a stool by the fire because too ill to take their proper places, are events not so rare in an inspector's experience as they ought to be."

The inspector was regarded by the teacher as his natural enemy to be outwitted whenever possible. The Revised Code came to an end in 1897, but the unhappy relations between the teachers and the inspectorate continued for many years after and still survive in some places. When the Code had disappeared the older inspectors found it difficult to adjust themselves to new conditions and it was not until a race of inspectors arose that knew not the Revised Code, that the mutual distrust of teacher and inspector died a natural death. The harshness of the Code was lessened by various Minutes from 1867 onwards, admitting first one subject and then another into the curriculum as grant-earning subjects, but the whole process proceeded piecemeal without any thought being given to the principles which underlay a balanced curriculum. All that can be said is that it worked out in practice better than one might have expected.

¹ See the account on p. 14.

CHAPTER VII

FILLING THE GAPS—1870-1895

The complacent spirit in which the Newcastle Commission declared itself satisfied with the diffusion of educational facilities throughout the kingdom was not shared by the nation as a whole. The Revised Code had slowed down the building of schools, but the population was now increasing rapidly, so that the proportion of children not attending school was almost as great as when the Manchester Statistical Society had made its investigations in 1834. Secularists and denominationalists in Manchester combined to form the Manchester Education Aid Society in 1864, which had for its object the provision of assistance to poor parents in paying their school fees. Similar societies sprang up in Birmingham, Nottingham, and Liverpool. Two Education Bills were presented to Parliament in 1867 and 1868 in which rate aid for the building of schools was suggested, but both were withdrawn in deference to the strongly expressed feelings of the Nonconformists against aiding denominational schools from the rates. The General Election of 1868 returned the Liberals to power with a strong working majority. Mr. W. E. Forster, Member for Bradford, was given the post of Vice-President of the Education Department. Forster was well known in the north for his views on social and economic questions and his intense interest in popular education. He married the daughter of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, and was an intimate friend of Carlyle. Although a Bradford business man and a wealthy manufacturer, Forster found time to work for the social schemes he advocated, and one acquaintance described him as the only mill-owner he had ever heard claimed by the working men as a friend. He was an opponent of the Revised Code, and because of his great interest in education was chosen as a member of the Taunton Commission. In 1869 he was instrumental in securing the passage of the Endowed Schools Act. His views on national education were well known and on his appointment to the Education Department the country awaited with interest the Bill which it was now certain he would present to Parliament.

Forster found himself in a rather difficult political situation. The more extreme Liberals, or Radicals, were advocating free compulsory education on unsectarian lines, and in Birmingham, the

Birmingham Education League, with George Dixon as Chairman, Joseph Chamberlain as Vice-Chairman, and Jesse Collings as Secretary, was formed in 1869 to secure these demands. This movement alarmed the supporters of denominational teaching, who formed in opposition the National Education Union. As a consequence of the agitation on the subject of education, Parliament ordered an inquiry into the condition of education in the four towns of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and Birmingham, which might be taken as samples of the provision of educational facilities in the industrial areas. Sir J. Fitch and Mr. Fearon were instructed to furnish a return, not only of the number of schools, but also of the quality of the instruction provided. The diagram on p. 162 gives the relevant details as regards the provision of schools.

The Government inquiry showed that the unsatisfactory private schools of earlier ages still existed in the large towns. The following are three typical examples of schools that Mr. Fitch found in Leeds:—

1. "In a squalid little room 14 feet 4 inches by 8 feet, in a back street, I found, on descending to the basement floor of a small house, 33 children crowded together, of whom 16 were boys. The master is standing, in his shirt sleeves near the fire, over which some stew is preparing for dinner. The room is hot and close, and the children move with difficulty, owing to the clumsiness of the household furniture with which it is nearly filled. The master has been here for 30 years. . . . His own knowledge and qualifications are of the humblest kind, and his method of instruction is to hear the lessons of each child one by one, while the rest are 'learning off their spellings' . . . The scholars are broadly divided into the 'fourpennies' and the 'sixpennies'; the latter, consisting of those who write in copybooks. . . . No other written or memory exercises are given, and the children are deplorably inactive and ignorant."

2. "A somewhat rude loft, to which access is obtainable by a ladder, is rented by a man of very humble pretensions, and used for the purposes of a school. There are about 25 scholars present. The master is hearing a task at a desk, the rest are playing, except a group who are watching with much interest the process of making ink, in which two of the elder boys, half-stripped for the purpose, are busily employed on the floor. Nearly all have said their tasks, and there is no more to do. . . . One is writing this sentence, 'The imperfections of a believer's sanctification make him constantly

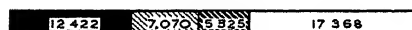
depend on Christ for his justification.' . . . The master is spiritless and disheartened. . . . It is impossible to believe that any educational result of the least value can be obtained here."

3. "In the front room of a small dwelling house, half-filled with dirty household furniture, I found 35 boys, all of whom were entirely unemployed, except eight who were writing in copy-books. The master . . . was a cloth-dresser by trade, and 'took to schooling because work was slack.' . . . He regrets that he is not a 'bit of a singer,' for if he were, he would 'learn them a few ditties, and the

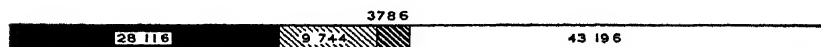
SCHOOL RETURNS 1870



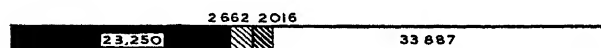
BIRMINGHAM 60,141



LEEDS 42,185



LIVERPOOL 84,842



MANCHESTER 61,815

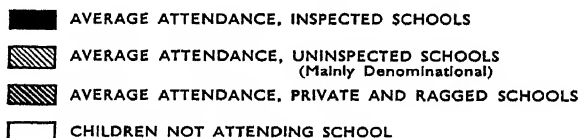


FIG 2

time would pass away quicker.' . . . Notwithstanding the prominence given to spelling lessons, all the elder boys failed to write an easy sentence without gross mistakes."

The Nonconformists who had done such great work in the past, seemed to have lost interest in education, for Mr. Fitch writes, "My chief duty, however, is to place on record here the simple but significant fact, that, with the exception of the Wesleyans and the Unitarians, I have been unable to find a single Nonconformist congregation in Leeds, which is doing anything to help forward

primary education, or is contributing money, or supervision to the permanent maintenance of a day school in any form.”¹

Mr. Fearon described a school in Liverpool where the mistress was assisted by her daughter, fourteen years old “the mistress cannot write; she makes a mark for her name in signing it. . . . She said she was obliged to leave the school very much to her daughter, as she was ‘a martyr to spasms.’ There was a strong smell of some spirit or other, and she seemed in a maudlin condition. . . . For this ‘education,’ some of these children are said to pay 6d. a week.”

Taking the country as a whole, the schools under Government inspection had accommodation for 1,878,000 children, which was a little more than half that which was required. Moreover, the schools were very unevenly distributed, the attendance irregular, and the leaving age low. Something had to be done, but how was it to be done? Forster carefully examined the alternatives. The Education League had great hopes that he would support their scheme. To their disappointment Forster rejected their plan, partly because of the enormous expense which the country would have to shoulder, and partly because he feared a greater danger than money, namely, that it would deprive the nation of those who really cared for education. He was in favour of an idea which had recently been put forward by Robert Lowe. The essentials of Lowe’s proposals had been that the Government should survey the educational needs of each district and, where deficiencies existed, compulsion should be brought to bear, but the voluntary bodies should first be given an opportunity of making good the deficiencies.² Forster submitted a memorandum to the Cabinet on these lines.

When he introduced his Elementary Education Bill of 1870, he said, “The first problem, then, is, ‘How can we cover the country with good schools?’ Now, in trying to solve that problem there are certain conditions which I think hon. members on both sides of the House will acknowledge we must abide by. First of all, we must not forget the duty of the parents. Then we must not forget our duty to our constituencies, our duty to the taxpayers. . . . And

¹ *Report on Schools for Poorer Classes in Birmingham, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester*, p. 89, House of Commons, 1870.

² Robert Lowe in 1844 secured the appointment of a Select Committee by the New South Wales legislature to survey the existing facilities for education in the Colony. As a result, in 1848, State schools came into existence side by side with denominational schools aided by grants, a situation similar to that created by the 1870 Act in England.

thirdly, we must take care not to destroy in building up—not to destroy the existing system in introducing a new one. In solving this problem there must be, consistently with the attainment of our object, the least possible expenditure of public money, the utmost endeavour not to injure existing and efficient schools, and the most careful absence of all encouragement to parents to neglect their children. . . . Our object is to complete the present voluntary system, to fill up gaps, sparing the public money where it can be done without, procuring as much as we can the assistance of the parents, and welcoming as much as we rightly can the co-operation and aid of those benevolent men who desire to assist their neighbours.”¹

The country would be divided into districts and the wants of each duly ascertained. Thus, if in any one district the inspectors find “the elementary education to be sufficient, efficient, and suitable, we leave that district alone.” Mr. Forster made it clear that he did not expect to find many such districts. The existing schools should be subject to three conditions for receiving public aid: they must be efficient, they must be open to undenominational inspection, and a conscience clause must be attached. In districts where there was a deficiency, time would be granted for voluntary agencies to supply the need. “Now, here for a time we shall test the voluntary zeal of the district. Not only do we not neglect voluntary help, but on the condition of respecting the rights of parents and the rights of conscience, we welcome it. To see, then, whether voluntary help will be forthcoming, we give a year”²

If the deficiencies were not made good by voluntary agencies, the State would step in and fill the gaps by means of School Boards elected by the town councils or, in the case of rural areas, by the Vestries. School fees were to be retained, but parents unable to pay fees because of poverty could apply for a free ticket. The School Boards would have the power of either providing schools themselves from rate aid or of assisting the present schools. Each board would also be free to decide the kind of religious instruction to be provided, subject to a conscience clause in every school. The School Boards would also have powers of framing bye-laws for the compulsory attendance of children between the ages of five and thirteen and for fixing the school-leaving age. Provision was made for the transfer of voluntary schools to the School Boards, but

¹ *Verbatim Report of the Debate in Parliament during the Progress of the Elementary Education Bill*, pp. 7-8, National Education Union, 1870.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Mr. Forster over-estimated the number which were actually transferred. The bye-laws could enforce the attendance of children by exacting from the parent a penalty not exceeding five shillings for non-attendance of his child, unless he could show reasonable excuse. The latter included "either education elsewhere, or sickness, or some unavoidable cause, or there not being a public elementary school within a mile" (later, not exceeding three miles) ¹

Mr. Forster summed up the object of the Bill by saying, "What is our purpose in this Bill? Briefly this, to bring elementary education within the reach of every English home, ay, and within the reach of those children who have no homes. This is what we aim at in this Bill; and this is what I believe this Bill will do."

The first reading of the Bill proceeded without difficulty, but in the interval between the first and second readings, Mr. Dixon and the Education League had time to reflect and found that there were many things they did not like about it. Their chief objections were: the period of grace allowed to voluntary effort would result in the building of numbers of new voluntary schools; the Bill did not insist on the universal establishment of School Boards and did not make attendance compulsory; the conscience clause was ineffective and the principle of allowing each School Board to decide the kind of religious instruction to be given in its district would make it possible for denominational teaching to be financed by the rates. Accordingly, they attacked Forster and the Government with great bitterness and gained the support of many Nonconformists. Mr. Dixon opened the attack by proposing the amendment, "This House is of opinion that no measure for the elementary education of the people will afford a satisfactory or permanent settlement which leaves the question of religious instruction in schools supported by public funds and rates to be determined by local authorities." ² He pressed the House to declare that all rate-aided schools should be unsectarian and that in other schools the secular and religious instruction should be separate. Mr. Forster did not agree and replied, "The English people cling to the Bible, and no measure will be more unpopular than that which declares by Act of Parliament that the Bible shall be excluded from the school." Mr. Vernon Harcourt attacked the proposition that the question of religious instruction should be decided by the School Boards and gave an

¹ *Verbatim Report of the Debate in Parliament during the Progress of the Elementary Education Bill*, p. 11.

² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

amusing description of what would happen at the School Board elections. "We all know something of municipal elections. We know that they are not very orderly at the best; but what will they be when the element of religious animosity is superadded? I suppose that there will be 'religious' public houses opened in every street; that blue and yellow placards will invite the voters to support 'Jones and the Thirty-nine Articles,' or 'Smith, and No Creed,' or 'Robinson, and down with the Bishops', and cabs will be flying about advertising the theological merits of the different denominations, and rival divines will take the chair nightly at meetings in public houses and beer taps. There will be a great deal of religious discussion, and a good deal more of religious beer. Towards the afternoon of the polling-day there will be miraculous conversions of all kinds—next morning many people will find out that in the course of twenty-four hours they have held every known form of religious faith, while close upon four o'clock on the polling day men will accept as many articles of faith as you may supply them with pints of beer, and the least sober with be the most orthodox." ¹

After a debate lasting three nights, Mr. Gladstone intervened to promise that the religious problem would be carefully considered at the Committee stage. Mr. Dixon agreed to withdraw his amendment and the Bill was read a second time, March 18th. When the Committee stage opened on June 16th, Mr. Gladstone announced some very important alterations which drew from Mr. Disraeli the remark that for practical purposes they amounted to a new Bill. A time-table Conscience Clause was proposed, which should apply to every grant-aided school, to the effect that parents were free to withdraw their children from religious instruction either at the beginning or at the end of the school day. The clause suggested by Mr. Cowper-Temple was accepted—"No religious catechisms or religious formulary, which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school." Although rate aid would not be applied to maintain denominational schools, the Prime Minister promised that they should receive an increased Treasury grant. The election of the School Boards was to be by those whose names were on the burgess roll of the borough and, in the country, by the rate payers. After a good deal of heated discussion, the Bill passed through the Committee stage. The Government cut down the year of grace allowed to voluntary effort to six months. London

¹ *Verbatim Report of the Debate in Parliament during the Progress of the Elementary Education Bill*, p. 106.

was to have its School Board immediately after the passage of the Act and was given the power of paying its chairman. The Act received the Royal Assent on August 9th, 1870.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 was essentially a compromise. It did not abolish the Voluntary system but allowed it to remain, with the help of Government grants, alongside the schools erected by the School Boards. This was the beginning of the Dual System which, with modifications, exists at the present time. Whilst affirming the principle that unsectarian religious teaching could find a place in the Board Schools, the Act allowed individual School Boards to make their own decision about religious instruction and a few decided in favour of secular instruction only. The vast majority followed the lead of the London School Board, which decided, "In the schools provided by the Board, the Bible shall be read and there shall be given such explanations and such instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and religion as are suited to the capacity of children; provided always . . . that no attempt be made in any such schools to attach children to any particular denomination." This decision was largely due to the influence of Professor Huxley. The Act gave power to the Boards to make education compulsory in their areas if they so wished and the London School Board availed itself of this permission by inserting a bye-law compelling the attendance of all children between the ages of five and thirteen, but granting exemption to children over ten who had passed Standard V and who were obliged to go to work to support their parents. Many School Boards did not make use of the powers given them under the Act.

The Leeds School Board was very progressive. The School Board was elected on November 28th, 1870, and immediately set to work to fill the gaps. A return for the town showed that 48,787 children should have been attending school but there was only accommodation for 27,329. Thirteen temporary schools were opened in Sunday Schools and public halls and bye-laws enforcing attendance were passed. Moreover, prizes were offered for regular attendance, and Leeds had the satisfaction of seeing the average attendance raised from 64 per cent. to 89 per cent. of the number of children on the school roll. The first Board School was opened in Bewerley Street in 1873, together with 14 evening schools and seven science and art classes. In 1885 the Board opened one of the earliest higher grade schools of the country. The new kindergarten system based on Froebel was introduced into the Leeds infant

schools and instruction in cookery provided for the older girls and swimming and manual work for the boys. The School Boards of other large towns pursued a similar enlightened policy, but in some country districts progress was very slow.

In rural districts, it was many years before School Boards were set up where they were required, and many country Boards proceeded with the task of supplying schools in a very leisurely fashion. Mr. Pickard, H.M.I., reported to the Education Department in 1882 the example of the establishment of a public elementary school in the village of Hornton, near Banbury. "First notice, 30 December 1872; second notice, 25 September 1874; election of school board, 1875; my first visit, 24 March 1876; requisition threatened, 1877; my second visit, June 1877 . . . second school board elected 1878; my third visit, September 1878. The school board begins to talk about acquiring a site, 1879. A new clergyman comes and asks for six months' grace to enlarge parochial school, 16 September 1879, school board agree, October 1879; . . . plans forwarded to Education Department, January 1880; placed in hands of builder, April 1880; . . . building finished November 1881; school opened January 1882; to be inspected for the first annual grant, January 1883, more than ten years after the first notice of insufficient accommodation was issued." (*Report by the Committee on Education*, p 415, 1882.)

Mr. Sneyd-Kynnesley described the School Board of the small village as sometimes a farce and sometimes a tragedy. He sent a letter to one Board making an appointment, but he received no answer. Nevertheless, he kept his appointment and arrived at the Board meeting. When he asked why they had not acknowledged his letter, they began to make excuses. Afterwards, he discovered, "There was not a man on the Board who could read and write, and they had to take all their correspondence to the market town to get the advice of the clerk to the Guardians before they could reply. They were in too small a way of educational business to have a clerk of their own." ¹

There were some rural districts where a penny rate brought in less than £10, and one Board in Norfolk had an average attendance of five children in its school. "They cost £26 apiece, and it took a 3d. rate to pay the clerk; its total rate was 13d. in the pound." ²

¹ Sneyd-Kynnesley, *H.M.I.*, p 173, Macmillan, 1908.

² *Ibid.*, p. 177.

Dixon and the League did not take their defeat lying down. They centred their opposition on Clause 25 of the Act which empowered a School Board to pay whole or part of the fees of children who could not otherwise afford them. In the heat of the debate on the Bill nobody had realised the significance of the clause, but in practice in most districts it meant that the voluntary schools were the only ones which received this money. Manchester, which did not erect Board Schools for some years, contented itself by paying large sums of money out of rates to voluntary schools under this clause. At Birmingham, the influence of the League was so strong that the School Board refused to apply the clause. The controversy grew more heated still when some of the Nonconformists refused to pay the education rate on the ground that some part of it was going to support denominational teaching, and the League started a campaign for purely secular instruction in 1872, but this policy did not receive the whole-hearted support of the Nonconformists, who favoured non-sectarian religious teaching. The result of the agitation was a serious division in the ranks of the Government which contributed considerably to their defeat in the election of 1874.

The six months' period of grace stimulated the denominations to tremendous efforts. Most of the new voluntary schools which were built were Church of England schools, but the Roman Catholics, although a much smaller body, showed equal zeal. 3342 applications were made to the Department for building grants. Of these, 376 were refused and 1333 afterwards withdrawn. The Church of England made 2885 applications, mainly through the National Society. Churchmen showed great liberality in increasing their subscriptions to the schools, and by 1880 had added over a million school places to those which had existed in 1870. In the race between the Church and the School Boards to provide extra school accommodation, the Church accomplished an amazing feat, whilst the Boards, with rate aid, were only able to add an equal amount. Even at the end of the century, in spite of the unequal competition, three-fifths of the available places in schools were in Church of England schools. Since then the number of Church schools has steadily increased so that in 1939 the Church had 8478 schools out of a total of 22,000. When the 1944 Act is fully in operation the number of voluntary schools will decline very sharply. The growth of State schools should not blind us to the debt England owes to the efforts of the denominations, and in

particular to the Church of England and the National Society. Before 1870, the National Society had contributed £6,270,577 in building schools and £8,500,000 in their maintenance. Between 1870 and 1893, the society spent £7,125,402 in erecting 5838 schools having accommodation for 1,328,761 children. All this money had been freely given by Church people who often made great sacrifices for the sake of their schools.

One of the reasons why the Church found it so difficult to keep abreast of things was the constant rise in the cost per child. At the time of the 1870 Act, Mr. Forster had reckoned that a 3d. rate would be quite sufficient for school purposes, and the cost per head would not be likely to increase beyond 30s. In Church schools in 1871, the average cost per child in average attendance was £1 5s. 9¼d., but it had risen to £1 14s. 10¼d. in 1880. At the same time the voluntary subscriptions from Church people for the maintenance of their schools had increased from £372,350 to £762,162. The average cost per head in the Board Schools was £2 1s. 11¾d. Lord Sandon's Act of 1876 provided some relief to managers of Church schools by raising the grant from 15s. per child to 17s. 6d., and allowing a still larger grant if local subscriptions equalled the sum that could thus be obtained. This roused the Nonconformists, who once again raised the cry that public money was being used to foster denominational teaching.

There is a very widespread idea amongst the general public that the Act of 1870 inaugurated universal free compulsory elementary education. Nothing is further from the truth. It is one thing to provide school places but a very different thing to see that they are filled, and much of the interest of the next 25 years lay in the efforts made to secure regular attendance, to make the schools free, and to raise the average leaving age. Because so many School Boards did not avail themselves of the powers of compulsion granted under the Act, although the numbers in average attendance rose, they were not by any means satisfactory. Parents had still to be convinced that it was their duty to see that their children received a satisfactory education. Lord Sandon's Act of 1876 declared that it was the duty of every parent to see that his child received adequate instruction in the three R's, and that if the parent failed in his duty, he became liable to certain penalties. Employers were forbidden to employ children under ten, and children between ten and fourteen were obliged to attend school

half-time. Unfortunately there were loopholes in the way of exemptions. For instance, if the child had passed Standard IV, or made a certain number of attendances each year during the past five years, he could be exempted from further attendance.¹ Parents neglecting the attendance order were liable to a fine not exceeding 5s., and employers who contravened the Act to a penalty of 40s. Parents not able to afford school fees could apply to the Guardians to have them paid. In many areas where no deficiency had existed in 1870, School Boards had not been constituted. In such districts School Attendance Committees were formed having the same compulsory powers as the School Boards. Children who were out of parental control and refused to attend school could be committed to industrial schools.

Mr. Mundella's Act of 1880 went a step further and made the framing of bye-laws compulsory on all School Boards and School Attendance Committees. Moreover, a child of thirteen could gain exemption on attendance alone, apart from proficiency. Thus the question of compulsion was definitely settled. The school-leaving age was raised to eleven in all cases in 1893, and to twelve in 1899.

The Act of 1870 did not contemplate the abolition of school fees but limited them in the case of public elementary schools to 9d. per week. In 1891, parents were given the right to demand free education for their children with the result that the majority of schools became free. Fees in elementary schools were not entirely abolished until 1918.

From 1870 progress had been rapid. The number of schools and pupils had increased, the cost of maintenance had risen, and the education rates had become heavier each year. It was now felt that the time had arrived for an inquiry by an impartial authority into elementary education as a whole. This desire was met by the Royal Commission of 1886, generally known as the Cross Commission, from its Chairman, Lord Cross.

The Commission reported in 1888, and although on many points the Commissioners were unanimous, they differed on others, and in respect to these, 15 members submitted a majority, and eight a minority, report. The former were well disposed to the denominational schools and were of opinion that they should receive rate aid. The latter held that such a course would upset the equilibrium established by the 1870 Act. Both agreed that there was an urgent

¹ This was generally known as the Duncce's Pass.

need for more and better-trained teachers and that to extend the facilities for training, the creation of day training colleges connected with the universities and university colleges was recommended. The majority were greatly impressed with the system of denominational residential training colleges. Both recommended the admission to the inspectorate of elementary school teachers and the majority were in favour of the appointment of women inspectors. We have already seen, in Chapter IV, the attitude of the majority and minority towards the growth of the higher grade schools. Both thought that the respective spheres of elementary, higher grade, and secondary schools should be defined. They also agreed that a more liberal curriculum was necessary for the schools and emphasised the importance of science and technical instruction, manual instruction, and drawing. They thought that the latter should be compulsory for boys and that Government grants should be paid to aid the erection of manual workshops.

The system of Payment by Results was very severely criticised, especially by the minority, who believed in its complete abolition and the substitution of a fixed grant together with a variable grant for such subjects as drawing, cookery, and elementary science. The minority expressed the view, "We are of opinion that the best security for efficient teaching is the organisation of our school system under local representative authorities, over sufficiently wide areas, with full powers of management and responsibility for maintenance, with well-graduated curricula, a liberal staff of well-trained teachers, and buildings sanitary, suitable, and well-equipped with school requisites." The Commissioners recommended a stricter application of the school attendance regulations and the minority were of opinion that, "No Child should be allowed to leave school before fourteen unless he or she is profitably employed either at home or at work." They recommended a revision of the regulations for evening schools. Under the Revised Code these schools had been chiefly concerned with teaching the three R's, since the pupil had to satisfy the examination requirements before he could earn a grant. After 1870 there had been a considerable falling off in attendance at evening schools, and even when the age limit was raised to twenty-one, in 1876, they still continued to decline. Although other subjects were admitted in addition to the three R's in 1882, every pupil was obliged to satisfy the original requirements in order to earn grant. The Commission considered that the mistake consisted in regarding the evening school as an elementary school.

Its real function should be that of an evening continuation school and a place should be made for instruction in science, art, and technology, besides giving opportunities for recreation and social life. The age limit should be abolished and freedom should be given these schools to adapt themselves to varying conditions

It was fortunate for the report that when it was presented to Parliament the Secretary of the Education Department was Mr. (afterwards Sir) G. W. Kekewich, who had wide and liberal views on the subject of education, and who was in sympathy with the teachers. The report bore fruit almost immediately in the Code of 1890, which abolished the grant for the three R's, raised the fixed grant, and retained the grants only for class and specific subjects. This was the beginning of the end for the system of Payment by Results. More subjects were added to the curriculum by the Codes of 1893 to 1896, and encouragement was given to teachers to plan class visits to museums and art galleries and to historical buildings. As Sir G. Kekewich said, "My creed was that the children came first, before everything and everybody." Also in 1890 the University Day Training Colleges were established. Fourteen of these were instituted in the different universities and university colleges. By 1900 there were 16 colleges with 1355 students. As many of the students were preparing for university degrees they were excused the examination in the academic subjects for the Teachers' Certificate. These new departments became an integral part of the universities and university colleges and contributed to widening the intellectual background of the students preparing to enter the teaching profession. The Cross Commission had criticised the pupil-teacher system but, believing that there was nothing to put in its place, suggested improving it. Already the wisdom of entrusting the training of the pupil-teacher to the head of a school had been questioned and this had led to the establishment of Pupil-Teacher Centres, where courses were arranged for them in the evenings and on Saturday mornings. In 1884 pupil-teachers were required to teach only half-time and were able to attend classes at the centre during the day. The minority report of the Cross Commission was very emphatic. It declared that the pupil-teachers taught badly and were badly taught. The outcome was an inquiry into the whole system by the Education Department, 1896 to 1898. The committee reported that while it did not suggest complete abolition of the pupil-teacher system, it recommended

raising the age to fifteen of pupil-teachers entering their apprenticeship and eventually to sixteen. At the same time it was of opinion that the pupil-teacher centre should approximate to a secondary school. Another improvement was to allow the pupil-teacher to substitute London Matriculation or the Senior Local examinations of Oxford and Cambridge for the Queen's Scholarship examination in 1899.

The Cross Commission's recommendations concerning evening schools resulted in a new evening school Code in 1893. The requirement that students should pass in the three R's was abolished and adult students over twenty-one were recognised for grant. The new Code offered grants based on the total number of hours of instruction given and not in the achievements of individual pupils. Moreover, the encouragement of scientific and technical studies, about which more will be said in a later chapter, made the evening institutes more popular and as a result the number of students increased rapidly.

During the period 1870 to the end of the century there was considerable progress with regard to school buildings, equipment, and methods of teaching. Before 1870 little attention was given to the planning of school buildings. They were often erected by rule of thumb by the village bricklayer and carpenter. The rooms were frequently low, dark, and ill-drained, with no other means of heating but a stove at one end. The floor was usually of brick, which wore into dust, and was cold to the feet. There were rarely any cloakrooms for the children and the schools were often without adequate sanitation. Robert Lowe was one of the first to insist upon satisfactory school buildings as a condition of payment by grant.

Our large towns still possess far too many schools which were built as a result of the 1870 Act, and which, with certain modifications, are yet in use. The typical school of this period consisted of a large classroom with one or two smaller classrooms leading off from the main room. The younger children often had the privilege of being in one of the smaller classrooms whilst the upper part of the school used the main room, which housed two or three classes. The latter served also as an assembly hall for the school. In towns, the school was often built near the junction of busy streets, where the roar of traffic and the babel within the room, owing to one teacher having to make himself heard above the rest, seriously interfered with the concentration of the pupils and played havoc with the

teacher's voice and nerves. The author has vivid memories of one such school which abutted immediately on to a main road and tram route and in which the smell of the nearby gasworks was never absent. The windows were frequently placed behind the scholars and heat was supplied by open fires or stoves so that those near the fire were scorched, whilst the remainder shivered with cold. Ventilation was achieved by vertical flues assisted by a gaslight burning in the flue. Lighting was by means of gas and there are still quite a number of schools being used at the present time in industrial towns where incandescent gas mantles are employed in lighting. High galleries were in the fashion and the entrance lobbies contained hooks for hats and coats, and lavatory basins. The playgrounds were usually inadequate in size and paved with flagstones or gravel. The main room was divided by sliding partitions which could be opened out to convert it into an assembly hall. These schools were often double storey buildings to accommodate boys and girls separately. One floor communicated with the other by a stone staircase and often an iron fire-escape was attached to the outside of the building.

The London School Board experimented with what was known as the Prussian model, a large schoolroom with separate classrooms for each teacher, each accommodating as many as 80 children under a certificated teacher.¹ The next development was the Central Hall type introduced about 1890. Classrooms led off from a central hall and were much smaller and better lit. The open fire was replaced by central heating and separate cloakrooms and lavatories were provided. A later improvement consisted in having the classrooms on one side of the hall only, which was lighted from the other side. Separate buildings for infants were built and additional rooms for handicraft and domestic science. These schools were two- or three-storey structures; sometimes boys were on one floor and girls on another, or juniors on one and seniors on the other.

Teaching methods in the 1880's were largely mechanical, partly owing to large classes, partly to the influence of the Revised Code. As additional subjects found their way into the curriculum, teaching methods improved, but very slowly. Elementary science was represented by the object lesson which was lauded as a means of

¹ The London School Board was the first to appoint its own school architects. The development of school buildings in London is illustrated by plans in the *Final Report of the School Board for London*, 1904.

developing the pupil's powers of observation. Frequently they resulted in the pupils repeating after the teacher long strings of technical terms or memorising perfectly obvious facts in a set form of words. Professor Armstrong's Heuristic Method was a protest against the method of teaching science which ignored the child's activity and relied on the memorisation of strings of facts.

Another feature of the 1890's was the increasing attention given to the physical development of the child through games and physical exercises. The Code of 1871 recognised military drill which was frequently taught by the sergeant of the local Volunteers. The boys were instructed in marching in different military formations in the school yard and many School Boards arranged an annual contest between the schools of the area in which banners were presented to the schools which distinguished themselves. This kind of drill made no pretence of giving scientific physical training; its main object was to inculcate a sense of discipline and prompt obedience to orders amongst a large group of children. Indian club and dumb-bell exercises furnished the only variety from the marching and turnings. The following table gives an idea of the type of physical training work carried out by Standard VI boys under the Birmingham School Board:—

MARCHING	GENERAL DRILL	EXERCISES
<p>(a) March at a uniform rate, at even distance, and with a good carriage.</p> <p>(b) Change step, and do the right-about turn on the march.</p> <p>(c) Counter-marching.</p> <p>(d) March in line backwards and forwards.</p> <p>(e) First simple figure march.</p> <p>(f) Marching in fours.</p> <p>(g) Running.</p>	<p>(a) The turns. Right turn, left turn, half-right turn; half-left turn, right-about turn.</p> <p>(b) Dressing of lines</p> <p>(c) Wheeling in fours forwards and backwards.</p> <p>(d) Opening and closing of ranks for exercises.</p>	<p>(a) Indian club exercises, or</p> <p>(b) Stave exercises, Nos. 1 to 9</p>

The table for the girls was a slightly less strenuous version of the above.

Swedish drill was introduced by the London School Board, who in 1879 invited Miss Löfving to give a course of instruction to schoolmistresses. In 1882 an attempt to popularise Swedish drill in boys' schools failed. The Board then instituted a series of courses in physical training on the English system which involved free body

and limb movements. Lectures on the theory of physical training were given to teachers. A certain amount of military drill was retained on the ground of its value "as a means of maintaining discipline; obedience and promptness are secured, the tendency to roughness and noise is counteracted." Musical drill was also advocated because "it secures a more interested and consequently a more satisfactory execution of the work." Horizontal and parallel bars were erected in asphalt playgrounds, but owing to the large number of accidents were subsequently removed from the majority of schools¹

Leeds adopted Swedish drill in 1880 and musical drill in 1890. Special courses in physical training were arranged for teachers, and evening classes for young men in business, and instruction in gymnastics was given at two schools specially equipped for the purpose.

In the 1880's, school football clubs were formed in various London schools, but the idea of forming a school football association was due to Mr. W. J. Wilson of Balham, who with the help of several other teachers inaugurated the first elementary schools football association under the name of the South London Schools F.A., 1885. This was the beginning of a national movement, so that by 1895 nearly every important town had a school organisation for the promotion of football and cricket. Competitions between teams in the same town and between towns were organised. One of the earliest inter-town matches was played between the Sheffield Schools F.A. and the South London Schools F.A. at Bramall Lane, the famous Yorkshire ground, in 1890. In 1894, Manchester and Sheffield schools played before 40,000 spectators. The Sheffield F.A. organised a number of matches for charities and in 10 years raised over £1000.

Cricket was much more difficult to organise owing to the lack of suitable practice grounds, but in London, Liverpool, and Brighton, park pitches were set aside for the schools on Saturday mornings. Athletic associations were formed for promoting annual school sports, and girls and boys were included. Swimming instruction also received attention. Leeds formed an Elementary Schools F.A. in 1896, and adopted the Association game in spite of the fact that Leeds was even then a great Rugby centre. The reason

¹ The London School Board introduced dancing into 24 of its schools, but owing to the unfavourable comment of the Vice-President of the Education Department in 1901, it was dropped from the school curriculum.

given was that Association was a better game for boys who wanted to practise during the midday break and had not time to change. Arrangements were made in 1875 for pupils from elementary schools to obtain swimming instruction, and in 1895 it became part of the ordinary school course.

In many districts the public libraries were made available to school children. The first municipal rate-supported public library was established at Warrington in 1848 and the earliest Public Libraries Act (Ewart's Act) was passed in 1850. The movement to set up public libraries grew slowly and in 1870 only about 40 places in the kingdom had established public libraries. After 1870, public libraries became more numerous. In 1865, the Birkenhead librarian reported that 743 juvenile books had been borrowed during the year and the first separate children's library was begun at Nottingham in 1882. The first free public library authority to work in unison with the schools was at Leeds in 1877, and by 1894, 63 juvenile libraries had been established in Board Schools and six in voluntary schools.

The central library and 21 branch libraries in Leeds had special juvenile departments. In one Leeds Board School, special lesson periods were assigned on the time-table for library reading and every pupil above Standard III was supposed to have a library book which he was reading. In some towns, every school was supplied with a number of book boxes, the contents of which were changed from time to time. The Education Department urged teachers to make their instruction lead up to an appreciation of art galleries, museums, and public libraries. In 1896, the Cardiff School Board tried out a new experiment. It was arranged that every class above Standard III should visit the public library at least once a year for an illustrated lesson on a definite subject. The lesson for the first year was the History of a Book, and the library staff organised a most interesting exhibition. Pupils were shown examples of the clay tablets of the Assyrians, the papyrus of Egypt, mediaeval MSS., the Horn Book, early English printed books, books made by the Japanese, and special books for the use of the blind. Other towns repeated the Cardiff experiment.

School apparatus became more plentiful. The early lesson cards and wall sheets were replaced by blackboards. Wall maps and atlases made their appearance and attention was given to the seating arrangements. The London School Board replaced the

FILLING THE GAPS—1870-1895

long backless forms by dual desks, but in many country schools little improvement took place.

School medical inspection was started in London in 1890, and in Bradford in 1893. For many years the latter town was the pioneer of school medical services. The Defective and Epileptic Children Act of 1899 empowered School Boards to provide special accommodation for defective children, but this did not become obligatory until 1914. Taking it by and large, the last quarter of the century showed improvement in the quality of the schools and of education generally, very slowly at first, but quickening up in the last years.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FOUNDATION OF A NATIONAL SYSTEM

1895-1902

The point has now been reached where the development of the two streams of secondary and elementary education meets and can be considered together. At the end of Chapter IV, the reason for the appointment of the Bryce Commission was given. The Bryce Commission is noteworthy because for the first time it included women amongst its members, and had wider terms of reference than any previous Commission. Its object was, "to consider what are the best methods of establishing a well-organised system of secondary education in England, taking into account existing deficiencies, and having regard to such local sources of revenue from endowment or otherwise as are available or may be made available for this purpose, and to make recommendations accordingly." The Commission, like the Taunton Commission, employed the usual means of obtaining information and, through Sir J. Fitch, Mr. (later Professor) Findlay, and Mr. (later Sir) M. E. Sadler, secured reports on the progress of secondary education in various countries of Europe, Canada, and the United States.

Certain districts were selected for special study: Devonshire, including Exeter and Plymouth; the North of England, including Leeds, Bradford, Keighley, Manchester, and Liverpool; Bedfordshire, and other counties. After a brief review of the work of the Taunton Commission and the Endowed Schools Act, the Commissioners emphasised with regret that four important recommendations of that Commission had not been carried out: the establishment of a central authority for secondary education, the creation of local authorities, the institution of a register of schools and teachers, and the authorisation for local authorities to apply rate aid to secondary education. The benefits gained by the Endowed Schools Act were only a fragment of the system the Commission had elaborated with so much foresight and patient statesmanship. Since the Taunton Commission, events had moved rapidly and the Commissioners referred to the establishment of new agencies in the field of education; School Boards for elementary education, which were now financing higher grade schools, a type of secondary school of the third grade; the Science and Art

Department, whose grants were given to what was virtually secondary education, the University Colleges for the higher education of men and women, the University Extension movement, which had brought instruction of an advanced type to people outside the normal university courses, and the recent development of technical education. The latter had been financed from the funds created by the Local Taxation Act of 1890, funds which were being applied by the county councils, who had gained valuable experience in educational administration. The Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889 provided a new source of suggestions. The report then emphasised the hopelessly chaotic state of educational administration shown by the variety of authorities and the constant overlapping of their functions and lack of co-ordination. The teaching profession was now organised and had given rise to such bodies as the Headmasters' Conference, 1870, the National Union of Teachers, 1870, the Association of Headmistresses, 1874, the Association of Assistant Mistresses, 1884, the Headmasters' Association, 1890, the Association of Assistant Masters, 1892, and others. All this was a sign of the growth of a strong professional spirit which would tend to raise the influence and the status of the teaching profession. Another tendency noted was the growth of the proprietary schools and the better provision of secondary schools for girls. Yet one more agency had appeared in the field of secondary education in the Board of Agriculture, which, since the Act of 1889, had powers of inspecting the teaching of agricultural subjects given in secondary schools and institutes for higher education. In addition to the endowed schools and schools receiving grants from a Government department, there were still numerous private schools. All this added to the confusion into which educational administration had fallen so that the pressing problem to be solved was that of organisation.

Although not strictly within the terms of reference, the report considered that little progress could be made until the meaning of the term "secondary education" had been defined. "In every phase of secondary teaching, the first aim should be to educate the mind, and not merely to convey information. It is a fundamental fault, which pervades many parts of the secondary education now given in England, that the subject (literary, scientific, or technical) is too often taught in such a manner that it has little or no educational value. The largest of the problems which concern the future of Secondary Education is how to secure, as far as possible, that in

all schools and in every branch of study the pupils shall be not only instructed but educated.”¹

The changes of recent years had resulted in the breaking down of the barriers between cultural and practical subjects. Hence, secondary education “is the education of the boy or girl not simply as a human being who needs to be instructed in the mere rudiments of knowledge, but it is a process of intellectual training and personal discipline conducted with special regard to the profession or trade to be followed.”² Therefore, technical instruction cannot be separated from secondary education.

The report recommended certain steps that were necessary for establishing an efficient system of secondary education in England. The primary need was the creation of a central authority to organise and co-ordinate all the different agencies supplying secondary education. The past record of the Education Department had raised suspicions in the minds of certain members of the Commission as to what the establishment of a central authority might entail. “Greater variety and freedom in secondary schools than the old uniform codes allowed in elementary. Teachers . . . have shown a proper and becoming fear lest the hard reign of these codes, which has, indeed, of late years been, with happiest results, gradually made lighter, should be introduced into secondary schools, or lest all spontaneity should be ground out of them by the iron machinery of ‘payment by results.’ ”³

That these fears were not altogether groundless have been borne out by the tendencies of recent years. On the whole, however, the Commission thought that by combining elementary and secondary education under the same department, the general results would be beneficial because the central authority would be obliged to think of education as a whole and not simply of its several parts. Another advantage would be the greater ease with which teachers and pupils could pass from one type of school to another. The bureaucratic tendencies of centralisation would be checked by the existence of local education authorities, and the policy of the central authority would have a larger and more liberal spirit when it had to reckon with secondary education, than when it had to deal with elementary education alone. The central authority should not occupy the position of a dictator. “So far from attempting to induce uniformity, we trust that a free and spontaneous variety, and an open field

¹ *Report of the Commission on Secondary Education*, 1895, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 135-6

³ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

for experiment and enterprise of all kinds, will be scrupulously observed . . . Some central authority is required, not in order to control, but rather to supervise . . . not to override or supersede local action, but to endeavour to bring about among the various agencies which provide that education a harmony and co-operation which are now wanting.”¹

Professor Archer summed up the difficulty which presented itself to the Commission when he wrote, “Educationalists were undoubtedly groping for some arrangement by which secondary education could be controlled and financed by the State without becoming subject to the party system. . . . It has always been regarded as an integral part of the Constitution that departments which spend the public money should be represented by a minister responsible to Parliament. Under the party system this means that the Education Minister comes into office with his party, goes out with it, however efficient he may be, and is rarely likely to be turned out however inefficient he may be. The system, which was designed to secure parliamentary control, works out in a manner quite the reverse. The minister himself is responsible to Parliament, that is to the party whips, who have no interest in real educational efficiency, with the result that the permanent officials, who are the real authors of educational policy, are responsible to nobody.”²

The Commission recommended the following solution to the problem. The first necessity would be the creation of a central authority as a Government department, having a Minister of Education responsible to Parliament and charged with the supervision of both elementary and secondary education. He should be assisted by a permanent secretary. But some of the work of the department would be “so purely professional, as to belong rather to an independent body than to a Department of State.” Therefore the creation of an Education Council to advise the Minister was recommended. It would act as an executive body and take charge of the compilation of a teachers’ register. The Minister would be responsible for general policy and the control of administrative details, “but we believe that the unwillingness which doubtless exists in some quarters to entrust to the executive any powers at all in this branch of education would be sensibly diminished were his position at once strengthened and guarded by the addition of a number of

¹ *Report of the Commission on Secondary Education*, 1895, p. 257.

² R. L. Archer. *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 311-12, C.U.P., 1921.

independent advisers." Unfortunately for future generations, this recommendation was only partially carried out when the Board of Education was established.

The Commission thought that the Education Council should be a small body of 12 members—one-third appointed by the Crown, one-third by the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, London, and Victoria, and one-third selected by the rest of the Council from experienced educationists. The term of office should be six years and arrangements should be made to prevent all members retiring at the same time and so breaking continuity. Additional members might be co-opted when necessary. The existing authorities, the Education Department, the Science and Art Department, and the educational functions of the Charity Commission, would be merged in the new central authority.

The local administration should be in the hands of authorities established by the county councils, the county boroughs and other boroughs having a population over 50,000. These local authorities would carry out the functions of securing a due provision of secondary education in their areas, co-ordinating existing schools, administering sums provided by the rates or the national Exchequer, initiating schemes for endowed and public schools and providing for the inspection of schools. The local authorities should also have the power of granting recognition to private and preparatory schools provided they reached a certain standard as regards buildings and efficiency, and should organise scholarships and exhibitions for deserving scholars, including those being educated in the elementary and higher grade schools of the district.

The Commission called attention to the double aspect of the higher grade schools as being under the management of the elementary School Boards and yet, for practical purposes, providing secondary instruction. It suggested that they should be treated as secondary schools, but this recommendation implied the assumption that the School Boards would continue and that the new local authorities would be responsible for secondary education only.

The work of the Bryce Commission had shown the value of having accurate and up-to-date information about education in different parts of Britain, in the Colonies and Dominions, and in other countries. The following year the Department of Special Reports and Inquiries, under the charge of Mr. (later Sir) Michael Sadler, was created and unwittingly became one of the agencies that was to help in laying the foundation of the national system.

The central authority recommended by the Commissioners was created by the Board of Education Act of 1899. The powers of the Education Department, the Science and Art Department, and the Charity Commission, as regards its educational work, were merged in the Board of Education. Legally the Board consisted of the President, the principal Secretaries of State, the First Commissioner of the Treasury, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. During its long history of 45 years the Board never met and for practical purposes it consisted of the President, a permanent Secretary, a Parliamentary Secretary, and senior administrative officials.

The Board was to superintend educational affairs in England and Wales and at the same time a Consultative Committee was established to advise the Board on any matter referred to it. The Committee consisted of 18 members, men and women, who held office for six years. Another duty of the Committee was to prepare a register of teachers. Thus the Consultative Committee was shorn of most of the powers which had been recommended by the Bryce Commission for the Education Council. The former could not proffer advice to the President of the Board until asked to do so. This was not rectified until 1944, but meanwhile the Consultative Committee had done much valuable work in the issue of reports such as the report on *The Primary School*, the *Education of the Adolescent*, etc.

A Registration Council was set up in 1902, but the National Union of Teachers objected to the division of the register into two columns, one for elementary teachers and one for secondary. The Board withdrew the register and it was not until 1907 that a new Teachers' Registration Council was established. The new register contained the names of teachers in alphabetical order representing teachers in all kinds of school including the universities. At present registration is voluntary and those teachers whose names appear on the register are entitled to add the letters M.R.S.T. (Member of the Royal Society of Teachers) to their names. A large number of teachers have not availed themselves of the register mainly because neither the central nor the local authorities have made any use of it when candidates have offered themselves for educational appointments. Compulsory registration would do much to give teachers and the teaching profession that status and dignity that the General Medical Council, the Incorporated Law Society, and other similar bodies have procured for their members.

The second main proposal of the Bryce Commission in regard to the institution of local education authorities took seven years to materialise. The first move was due to the difficulties in which the voluntary schools found themselves. In the unequal competition with the Board Schools they found themselves left more and more behind because of the rising costs of education. The Conservative party were strong supporters of the denominational schools and when they were returned to power in 1895 the Archbishops of Canterbury and York drafted a memorial which was presented to the Government. It prayed that in the framing of a new Education Bill the religious character of education should be preserved by retaining the voluntary schools. Parents should have the right to determine the religious instruction given to their children and no school should be penalised because of the religious views held by the teachers or the pupils. The memorial emphasised the value of variety in the type and management of schools and asked for the abolition of the limits on the grants to schools and that the grants should be rearranged so as to assist the poorer schools. They asked for increased Exchequer grants, the provision of facilities for separate religious instruction in both voluntary and Board Schools, and power to establish denominational schools where parents demanded them.

The Government presented a Bill in 1896 closely following these proposals. The Bill had been prepared by the Vice-President of the Education Department, Sir John Gorst, assisted by the Secretary, Sir George Kekewich, and Mr. Sadler. It suggested making the county and county borough councils the local education authorities controlling elementary, secondary, and technical schools. This was an advance on the proposals of the Bryce Commission which had contemplated retaining the School Boards for elementary education. The grant limit of 17s. 6d. per head was to be abolished and a special grant of 4s. per head was to be paid to the county authority for distribution among the voluntary schools in its area. A clause was inserted to enable separate religious instruction to be given in Board Schools to those children whose parents desired it. This amounted to the repeal of the Cowper-Temple Clause. The new proposals were assailed from two directions. The School Boards were not inclined to a voluntary surrender which would result in their ceasing to exist and the Nonconformists and the Liberal party were up in arms against the idea of giving rate aid to the voluntary schools. The Lord

President, the Duke of Devonshire, decided to drop the measure and broke the news to Sir John Gorst by bursting into his room with the remark, "Gorst, your damned Bill's dead." However, the following year the Government passed a Voluntary Schools Act abolishing the 17s. 6d. limit on grants, freeing the schools from payments of rates, and providing an aid grant of 5s per head paid through the Association of Voluntary Schools. The same year a similar Act gave aid to necessitous School Boards.

It seemed that the recommendations of the Bryce Commission would be entirely neglected. That they were not was almost entirely due to the work of one man, Mr. (later Sir) Robert Morant. Morant's career opened with a series of crises. He was born of middle class parents in 1836, and it was intended that he should enter Rugby. The death of his father when Morant was ten years old seemed to close the door to his mother's hopes of sending him to a public school, but he was fortunate enough to secure the nomination of the Headmaster of Winchester. His great ambition in his early years was to take Orders and with this in view he went up to New College, Oxford, in 1881. On account of his poverty he had to take up coaching in order to keep himself at Oxford, and he had just secured a First in Theology when the news came that his mother, to whom he was devoted, was seriously ill. For a time he accepted a teaching post in a preparatory school, but in 1886 he applied for appointment as tutor to the children of the Siamese Minister in London, who had just returned to Siam. In 1888 he became tutor to the Crown Prince of Siam and remained in that country until the end of 1893, when the crisis caused by the French attempts at annexation caused his dismissal. During his stay in Siam he had worked earnestly for the cause of reform in Siamese education and had been the advisor of the king and his ministers. Now on his return to England he had to look for another appointment. He applied to the Education Department and was given the post of Assistant Director of Special Inquiries and Reports in the newly created department of which Sadler was chief.

Morant made himself familiar with the reports of the Cross and the Bryce Commissions and assisted his chief and Sir George Kekewich in preparing memoranda in connection with Sir John Gorst's ill-fated Bill. During 1896 he was absent in France studying the French system of Higher Primary Schools. The results of his work were published in the first volume of *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, 1897. Morant's next visit was to Switzerland

where he made an exhaustive study of the Swiss educational system and he was struck by the careful organisation of Swiss education which contrasted strongly with the administrative muddle in England. When he wrote his report on Swiss education he inserted the following paragraph. "The Central Authority has not, as with us, any voice in limiting any additional efforts that the Commune may desire to make out of its own funds, towards extending the educational advantages of its members, or towards making any higher developments of its educational supply. This at once suggests a vital difference between Swiss and English conceptions. For instance, in England many School Boards have desired to improve their higher Elementary Education and to extend its scope by providing Day Schools of a Higher Grade; but they have been frequently told by the Central Authority that they cannot take any such steps as would involve the School Board in any expense for this purpose, that it would be illegal to spend their rates in such a manner, inasmuch as they were only empowered by the Act of 1870 to use the rates to provide Elementary Education."¹

At this time a dispute had been going on between the London School Board and the London Technical Education Board because the latter had applied for recognition as the authority responsible for secondary education. The County Council supported their Technical Education Board and the two bodies appealed to the Science and Art Department. Dr. Garnett, the Secretary of the Technical Education Board, was given the task of preparing the case for the County Council. Morant contrived to bring to Garnett's notice the paragraph in his Swiss report and followed it up by giving him evidence of the illegality of the London School Board in using the rates to support what was secondary instruction given through the higher grade schools. Sir John Gorst was astonished at the evidence collected by Morant and after giving a decision in favour of the County Council, asked Dr. Garnett to

¹ *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, Vol. 3, p. 47, H.M.S.O., 1898.

Morant expressed his views quite clearly in the last paragraph of his report. "Surely it is not too much to hope that England may yet learn to value and to create for herself a true and complete organisation of her schools not merely of her Primary Education, but also of that most valuable asset of the national welfare—her Middle and Higher Schools; so that each and every grade of education, and each and every type of school may have a clear presentment before it, both of the function which it is intended to fulfil, of the results which it is framed to produce, and of the area which it is created to supply. Thus, and thus only, can each and every school, and each and every grade of education, have its due share of national interest and assistance, and be enabled effectually to play its due part in national development."

challenge the legality of the London School Board's position at the next meeting with the Government Auditor, Mr. T. B. Cockerton. The latter was satisfied with the evidence and surcharged the School Board. The School Board took the case to court and lost. On appeal to the Master of the Rolls the Court of Appeal upheld Mr. Cockerton's view. Sir John Gorst followed this up by relating to Parliament instances of other School Boards which had been acting illegally. A special Act, 1901, was passed to allow the School Boards to carry on until the Government had prepared the Education Bill that everyone now knew was inevitable.

The delay caused by the South African War necessitated the renewal of the Act of 1901, and it was not until the end of March, 1902, that the Government was ready to present the new Bill to the House of Commons. Morant, who for some time had been busy with the drafting of the Bill, was present at the first reading.¹

The Act carried out the second main proposal of the Bryce Commission and brought education under municipal control. "The Education Act of 1902 . . . brought administrative order where there had been chaos, and set up an organised system of elementary, secondary, and technical education."² In place of the School Boards and School Attendance Committees, the Act constituted the county and county borough councils as the local education authorities. This in itself was a great administrative simplification, since instead of over 2500 School Boards and nearly 800 School Attendance Committees, about 300 new local authorities took their place. As the county councils and county borough councils were concerned with Part II of the Act, which dealt with higher education, they were generally known as Part II Authorities. In addition, the councils of boroughs with a population of over 10,000, and urban districts with over 20,000 inhabitants, were constituted as authorities for the purposes Part III of the Act, which dealt with elementary education only. Hence, the latter authorities were known as Part III Authorities, and both were entitled Local Education Authorities, generally abbreviated to L.E.A. The L.E.A. was empowered, for local administration, to set up a Local Education Committee to which it could delegate the exercise of its powers under the Act, with the exception of the power of raising a rate or borrowing money. This ensured that the local finances were under public control. The

¹ The work of Morant in connection with the drafting of the Act is described in detail by Dr. B. M. Allen in *Sir Robert Morant*, pp. 151-71, Macmillan, 1934.

² Frank Smith. *A History of English Elementary Education*, p. 347.

majority of the members of an education committee were to be appointed by the council from its members, unless, in the case of a county, the council should determine otherwise. The council also appointed to the committee, persons with experience in education or those who had intimate knowledge of the needs of the various kind of schools in the district. This enabled teachers to become members. Women as well as men were able to be members of the education committee. If it seemed desirable, persons who had been members of School Boards at the time of the passing of the Act might be appointed as members of the first committee. Separate education committees could be formed for areas within the county, or two or more boroughs or urban districts could amalgamate to appoint a Joint Education Committee. All L.E.A.'s took over the duties of the School Boards and the School Attendance Committees with regard to the control of secular education within their areas.

The Board Schools now became Council Schools, and because the buildings were provided by the L.E.A., such schools were known as Provided Schools. The voluntary schools, because the buildings were not provided by the L.E.A., were termed Non-provided Schools. Provided Schools under a county L.E.A. had six managers, four of whom were appointed by the education committee. In the case of a borough or urban district, the L.E.A. could appoint the number of managers it considered necessary. Non-provided Schools also had a board of six managers, four foundation managers appointed under the provisions of the trust deed, and two appointed by the education committee, who might possibly be Nonconformists. The foundation managers would preserve the denominational character of the school and the presence of two managers representing the public authority would act as a check to innovations in religious teaching introduced by a too zealous vicar. This clause was inserted to appease the Nonconformists, who feared that Anglo-Catholic teaching might be introduced into a school against the wishes of the majority of the parishioners.

The managers of a Non-provided School were to provide the building free of charge, and undertake all repairs except those due to fair wear and tear. As regards secular instruction, the managers were obliged to carry out the directions of the L.E.A., who would decide the number of teachers required and their educational qualifications. The L.E.A. had the power to dismiss a teacher on educational grounds. The managers appointed the

teachers subject to the consent of the L.E.A., who had a veto on educational grounds, but the managers need not obtain the consent of the L.E.A. to dismiss a teacher on grounds connected with the giving of religious instruction. In a Provided School the latter had to be undenominational as provided by the Cowper-Temple Clause, but in a school maintained but not provided, religious instruction was to be in accordance with the trust deeds of the school, subject to a conscience clause. In secondary schools and colleges provided by the authority, a new clause governed the nature of the religious instruction. "No pupil shall, on the ground of religious belief, be excluded from or placed in an inferior position in any school, college, or hostel, provided by the council, and no catechism or formulary distinctive of any particular religious denomination shall be taught in any school, college, or hostel, so provided, except in cases where the council, at the request of parents of scholars at such times and under such conditions as the council think desirable, allow any religious instruction to be given in the school, college, or hostel, otherwise than at the cost of the council; provided that in the exercise of this power no unfair preference shall be shown to any religious denomination." (Pt. II, para. 4, 1.)

Elementary education was limited to pupils under sixteen years of age, except in the case where no suitable higher education was available within a reasonable distance of the school, when the L.E.A., with the consent of the Board of Education, could extend the age limit. Evening schools were considered as belonging to the sphere of higher education. Besides aiding secondary and technical education, the L.E.A. possessed the right to train teachers.

As Non-provided Schools were now supported by the rates, the Government grant was rearranged to ease the burden on the poorer districts.¹

¹ The rearranged grant consisted of a fixed grant equal to 4s. per scholar together with a variable grant. This consisted of 1½d per scholar for every complete 2d. per scholar by which the amount which would be produced by a 1d. rate fell short of 10s. a scholar. This complicated arrangement was intended to ease the burden on a poor district where the product of 1d. rate was not as large as that in a wealthier district having a smaller school population. A district which raised less than 3d. rate lost from the grant an amount equal to half the difference between the amount raised from 3d. rate and that raised by the actual rate.

Thus in a district where the rate was 2s. and which fell short of 10s. by 8s., the grant would be 4s. + $\frac{1}{2}$ of 8s., i.e. 10s. If the rate was 5s. the grant would be 4s. + $\frac{1}{2}$ of 5s., i.e. 7s. 9d.

The Bill received its first reading without encountering any fierce opposition, but in the interval before the second reading, a spirit of bitter animosity towards the proposals developed. Bryce, the Chairman of the Commission of 1895, moved the rejection of the Bill when it came before the House for a second reading. Sir Edward Grey criticised the proposal to put the voluntary schools on the rates, but the most determined attack was led by Mr. Lloyd George. The second reading was passed by a vote of 402 to 165, but everybody realised that there would be a hard fight at the Committee stage. In the country, the Nonconformists were aroused by Dr. Clifford by means of letters to the *Daily News* which he later embodied in a penny pamphlet. In Parliament, the Liberal Opposition made capital out of the Nonconformist hostility and Mr. Lloyd George's bitterest invective was employed to defeat the Bill. It was fortunate for Mr. Balfour that he had secured the services of Morant, whose detailed and accurate knowledge of educational administration and statistics provided the ammunition for the support of the Government. Joseph Chamberlain had been injured in a street accident and was not present for the debate. In the midst of the struggle, Lord Salisbury felt he should, on account of age, resign the Premiership, and was succeeded by Mr. Balfour. The Cabinet was reconstructed and Lord Londonderry was appointed President of the Board of Education, with Sir William Anson as Parliamentary Secretary. Mr. Balfour felt that Sir George Kekewich, the Secretary to the late Education Department, was not a strong enough man to carry out the Government's policy and he agreed with Lord Londonderry that it was necessary to have someone who was thoroughly acquainted with all the intricacies of the Bill. The latter suggested that Morant should be the successor to Kekewich. Accordingly, Morant was appointed Acting Secretary, to become Permanent Secretary to the Board of Education when Kekewich retired in 1903. Thus in seven years, Morant had risen from the rank of junior Civil Servant to be the head of the Department. Balfour was ably assisted by Morant, and although certain modifications, such as the clause moved by Colonel Kenyon-Slaney to the effect that the religious teaching of a Non-provided School must be in conformity with the trust deed, were adopted on Morant's advice, the Bill became law on December 20th, the second anniversary of the Cockerton judgment, with all its main proposals intact.

The Act of 1902, like most Education Acts, presented many features of compromise. The Dual System was maintained and the Kenyon-Slaney Clause, adopted to appease the Nonconformists, roused the anger of the Anglo-Catholics. The creation of the Part III authorities was a concession to the supporters of the School Boards and may have been of value in stimulating local interest in education. It led, however, to a number of anomalies, *e.g.* Birchenough quotes the example of Canterbury, a county borough with a population of 25,000, which became an authority for both elementary and higher education, whilst Part III authorities like Leyton, Willesden, Rhondda, and Tottenham, with populations ranging from 99,000 to 114,000, had powers over elementary education only.¹

The Act of 1902 opened a new chapter in the history of English education. It created local education authorities empowered to co-ordinate elementary and higher education and provided what at the time was described as "the ladder from the elementary school to the university," because it rendered possible the award of scholarships from the elementary school for promising pupils. It gave the denominational schools a definite place in the system and ensured that the pupils in these schools received an education up to the standard of that provided in the council schools. It led to the provision of an adequate supply of secondary schools to which parents could send their children on payment of moderate fees. Eventually it made other developments possible; the pupil-teacher system was changed and later the secondary school ousted the pupil-teacher centre; it produced a marked increase in the number of teachers' training colleges; and important developments with regard to evening and technical instruction followed. At the same time, the delegation of power to local authorities made for variety and elasticity. One thing was not achieved by the Act. All through the 19th century, secondary education had been regarded as different in kind from elementary education. The idea that the former was the privilege of a certain class in the community gradually

¹ C. Birchenough. *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales*, p. 163. The following example will show the difference between Part II and Part III authorities. Harrogate was a Part III authority and its education committee was responsible for the elementary schools in the town. There were also the Harrogate Grammar School and Technical and Art schools. These came under the control of the Part II authority, the Education Committee of the West Riding of Yorkshire at Wakefield. In many cases friction was avoided by the custom of appointing the Director of Education of the Part III authority as secretary to the governors of institutions for higher education.

broke down when the scholarship system extended as a consequence of the Act. But the Act of 1902 still regarded the secondary school as an institution of a different character. It was perhaps too much to expect, at that time, that education should be viewed in stages so that the secondary stage would be a natural sequence to the primary. The Balfour-Morant Act did not go so far as to create a national system of education, but it laid the foundation on which others would be able to build.

Strong support had been given to the Act by the Fabian Society, owing to the influence of Mr. Sidney Webb, who, whilst criticising some of the details, supported its main proposals. London had been left outside the operation of the Act and it was largely due to the work of Sidney Webb that in 1903 the London County Council became the authority for all types of education in its area.

The Liberals were not content to acknowledge defeat. The rate conflict prophesied by Dr. Clifford and Mr. Lloyd George began. Many Nonconformists refused to pay their rates and distraint was made on their property. This campaign of Passive Resistance continued for many years. Looking back, one always wonders why the passive resisters did not also refuse to pay their taxes as well, since the latter provided the money from which the Government grant to the voluntary schools was paid. In Wales, certain towns refused to have anything to do with the Act and some counties decided not to pay any money from the rates to the voluntary schools. In 1904, the Government passed the Education (Local Authorities Default) Act which stated that if the L.E.A. did not make adequate grants to the voluntary schools in its area, the Board of Education would deduct an equivalent sum from its grant to the L.E.A. and pay it direct to the managers of the voluntary schools. Lloyd George threatened that if the Government put the Default Act into operation, the whole of Wales would be thrown into educational chaos, since the Welsh authorities would refuse to carry on elementary education and would close the council schools. Mr. Balfour called his bluff and applied the Act to two defaulting authorities. No action of any importance followed since it was realised by Mr. Balfour's opponents that the general public was unlikely to tolerate an action which made the school children victims of a political wrangle. When the election of 1906 was fought, the Liberals included the repeal of the Education Act of 1902, along with Chinese Slavery, and the Big and Little Loaf propaganda, as part of their political programme. The result of the

election was a great landslide in favour of the Liberals and the new Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman appointed Mr. Birrell as President of the Board of Education. Within a few months, Mr. Birrell presented a Bill to Parliament which was to meet the grievances of the Nonconformists. One of its principal clauses proposed the abolition of the voluntary schools by transferring them to the L.E.A.'s. After a stormy debate, the Bill went to the Lords where it was amended so drastically that the Government refused to proceed any further with it.

Dr. Clifford wanted to force a constitutional issue with the Lords—to mend or end the House—but the Act had now been working with great success for four years and the Government thought it unwise to follow this line of action. A further attempt to reverse the 1902 policy was made by Mr. McKenna, who was President of the Board in 1908. His proposals did not satisfy the Nonconformists and roused the intense opposition of the Anglicans and Roman Catholics, who threatened in turn a campaign of passive resistance if it became law. The Government, in view of the storm it had aroused, withdrew the Bill but made a concession to the Welsh Nonconformists by establishing a Welsh Department of the Board which would be concerned with all matters of educational administration in Wales. Yet another attempt at reversal was made the same year by Mr. Runciman, who had succeeded Mr. McKenna, but the combined opposition of the Church, the Roman Catholics, and this time the teachers, who were beginning to have their say in matters which concerned them more even than the political parties, convinced him that it would be wise to withdraw his Bill. By this time Mr. Runciman and the Government realised that the Education Act of 1902 had come to stay.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND TO 1872

The history of education in Scotland deserves a book to itself and in the two chapters which deal with this subject there is only space to consider the development of the Scottish educational system in broad outline and to indicate some of the main ways in which it has both influenced, and been influenced by, events in the southern part of the kingdom.

There are three main characteristics, amongst others, which have been distinctive of Scottish Education from a very early period:—

1. The people of Scotland have for centuries attached great value to education, especially university and secondary education, and have consequently made considerable sacrifices in the past to obtain the best that was possible for them. In England, the majority of the poorer classes never appreciated the value of education, even when it was offered cheaply or freely. The Act of 1870 filled the gaps and covered the land with elementary schools but, for over 20 years, compulsion had to be applied to fill them.

2. In Scotland there has never been the wide gulf separating primary and secondary education that existed in England until very recent times. The popular schools, *i.e.* the parish schools, not only provided an elementary education but frequently trained their bright pupils in Classics and mathematics to enable them to proceed direct to the universities.

3. The Scottish people have never been class conscious to the degree that the English were in the 18th and 19th centuries. In other words, in both the schools and the universities there has been a strong democratic tradition, so that the right of the clever child, the "lad o' pairts," the earnest, industrious, and capable student, to obtain the highest forms of education provided, has never been denied because of his lowly birth or his station in life. The Scottish parochial school of last century was a common school in the sense that pupils of all creeds and of all degrees of society sat at the same benches side by side. This characteristic of the parochial school has been noticed by many observers. Thus, speaking of the 18th century, Graham writes, "They gave access to instruction to the lowest and the poorest as well as the highest, for the laird's and the ploughman's son, the sons of the carpenter

and of the lord of session, met together, they opened to them professions and posts in which so many rose to distinction; they effected an unequalled diffusion of education to every class in the country, and the teaching of the schools formed an easy stepping-stone for all to the highest training of the universities.”¹

The reputation of the parochial schools was maintained untarnished in the middle of the 19th century. Sir Kay-Shuttleworth, weary of the incessant denominational disputes in England, was able to point in contrast to the tolerant character of the parish school in which members of all religious denominations and of all social classes could join. He wrote, “The Scotch Parochial School has been distinguished by one beautiful feature. Upon its benches the children of every rank in life have met, and have contended for honours, earned only by higher natural gifts, or superior moral qualities. Those whom the accidents of rank and fortune have not yet separated have here formed friendships, which have united the laird and the hind through life, by mutual service and protection. Thus, sentiment has overleaped the barriers which divide society into classes, to acknowledge the claims of personal feeling, and to lift humble merit from obscurity.”²

There is practically no documentary evidence before the 12th century to prove the existence of specific schools in Scotland but, as in England, organised education began with the coming of Christianity. St. Ninian left the shores of the Solway to visit Rome, and after training there, he stayed some time at Tours before returning to Scotland. Here he met St. Martin, whose influence had contributed greatly to the spread of monasticism in Gaul. When Ninian returned to his home district he began to preach Christianity to his fellow-countrymen. He won many converts for the new faith and, with the help of masons sent by Martin, the first Scottish church of white stone—*Candida Casa*—was built at Whithorn about 397. Associated with this church was the first of many monasteries in Scotland bearing the name of St. Ninian. Using the monastery as a base, Ninian made journeys to carry the Gospel to the Picts who dwelt north of this district. It is a reasonable conclusion that the monastery of Whithorn was a centre for both religious and secular education.

¹ H. G. Graham. *The Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 433, A. and C. Black, 1909.

² Sir Kay-Shuttleworth. *Public Education*, p. 535, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1853.

We are, however, on surer ground when we come to the work of Columba, who settled his headquarters in the island of Iona in 563. The monastery of Iona became the centre from which Christianity spread not only to other parts of Scotland, but also as we saw in the first chapter, from which it was carried by Aidan to northern England. The monastery of Iona was modelled on abbeys in Ireland, from which country Columba had come. In Ireland, the monasteries were centres of civilisation and learning to which students came, not only to receive training for the work of the Church, but for secular learning as well. In Scotland the Celtic Church differed in its organisation from the Roman Church which had been introduced into southern England by Augustine. The ancient Irish and Scottish Churches, owing to their long isolation from the Continent, had not only developed customs of their own but had organised themselves on a monastic basis. Each Scottish monastery looked to the Abbot of Iona as its head. As yet there was no diocesan and parochial organisation such as was growing up in England. As a consequence, whilst the early English schools grew up in association with the cathedrals and collegiate churches, those in Scotland developed in connection with the monasteries. Each monastery was a centre of learning and civilisation, and young people entered them not only to be trained as novices, but also to gain a general education. The work of the monasteries in education was especially stressed by the disciples of Columba. We can picture the Celtic Church gradually extending southwards into Northumbria, founding here and there a monastery to be the religious and educational centre of its district, and at the same time, the Roman missionaries moving ever northwards, bringing with them the traditions of order and organisation derived from the Continent. The two streams of Christianity met in the northern Midlands and the problem as to which should be supreme in England was settled at the Synod of Whitby in 664. In Scotland the better organisation of the Roman system prevailed only after many years, but by the time of Malcolm II, 1018, the Celtic Church was fast being merged into the Roman.

Much as one admires the piety and zeal of the Columban Church, its assimilation to the Roman brought Scotland into the main stream of European civilisation from which it had so long stood aloof. The old tribal organisation of the Celtic Church disappeared and Scotland, like England, was eventually mapped out into dioceses and parishes. The great monastic orders of the

Western Church entered into possession of the Celtic monasteries, and many new abbeys founded by the Benedictines and Cistercians sprang up in different parts of the kingdom. From the time of this assimilation we have increasing documentary evidence of the rise of specific schools associated with the monasteries, cathedrals, and churches. Thus there are definite references to the existence of schools at Abernethy, Perth, Stirling, Roxburgh, and Lanark, in the 12th century. "Schools for Latin, to which were subsequently added 'Lecture' schools for English, existed in the chief towns of Scotland from a very early period. We have authentic notice of a school in Aberdeen in 1124. The schools of Perth and Stirling were in existence in 1173." ¹

The history of these mediaeval Scottish schools is analogous to those in England of the same period. They were under the control of the Church and were directly connected with the cathedrals, monasteries, and collegiate churches. The original dioceses were St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Moray, but new dioceses were created subsequently, and by the end of the 12th century there were 11 bishoprics organised on English models, *e.g.* Dunkeld and Glasgow were modelled on Salisbury, and Elgin on Lincoln, as regards their constitutions. As in England, two types of school developed from the cathedrals and collegiate churches, the Grammar School, and the Sang (Song) School. Grammar schools distinct from schools of the monks, grew up in connection with the monasteries and, where the abbey was in or near a town, the grammar school was often to be found in the town itself, as in Edinburgh. The division of the country into parishes resulted in another type of school connected with the parish churches. The church building was often used for the purposes of a school. The instruction given in these parish schools was probably very elementary and was connected with the services, and especially the music, of the church. Most of these schools were smaller versions of the Sang school attached to the cathedrals. A well-known story of the village school at Norham-on-Tweed is related by Reginald of Durham in the 12th century.

A certain boy named Haldane tried to escape the rod for idleness by stealing the key of the church, locking the door, and throwing the key into a deep pool of the river. The master and his assistants

¹ *Third Report of the Schools Commission (Scotland)*, Vol. I, pp. 1-2.

were unable to break open the church door, but Providence intervened to help them. St. Cuthbert appeared in a dream to the master and instructed him to go to the fishermen early next day and buy their first catch. When he awoke, he carried out the Saint's instructions and received an enormous salmon which contained the missing key in its gills.

Grant illustrates the work of the Sang school of Aberdeen in the contract signed by the master, in which he "obliges himself by the faith of his body, all the days of his life, to remain with the community of the burgh, singing, keeping, and upholding mass, matins, evensongs, completories, psalms, responses, antiphonies, and hymns in the parish kirk on festival and ferial days, for a salary of 24 merks Scots annually. The town council further appoints him master of their sang school to instruct burgesses' sons in singing and playing on the organs, for the upholding of God's service in the choir, they paying him his scolage and dues" ¹

The Scottish Church, like the English, claimed a monopoly of education and occasionally schoolmasters set up private schools without the permission of the ecclesiastical authorities. For instance, in Glasgow, the control of education was in the hands of the Chancellor of the diocese. In 1494, a priest who had attempted to teach grammar without authority from the Chancellor was brought before the Bishop and ordered to give up his school. The claims of the Church, however, were not always successfully maintained. In Brechin, in 1485, a dispute on the right of presentation as preceptor of Maisondieu, to which office was attached the duties of schoolmaster, arose between the Bishop and the Duke of Ross.

The King decided in favour of the latter and gave warning that none of his subjects should "take upon him to make any manner of persecution or following of the said matter at the Court of Rome since it pertains to lay patronage."

The 15th century was a very important one for Scottish education. In the first place it furnished the first attempt in any European country to make education compulsory by means of legislation. An Act of Parliament in the reign of James IV, 1496, ordered all barons and freeholders who were of "substance" to send their eldest sons to school at the age of eight or nine and to keep them at the grammar school until they "have perfect Latin." On leaving the grammar school, they were to spend three years

¹ J. Grant. *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools in Scotland*, p. 66, William Collins, 1876.

at the school of Art and Law, so as to obtain knowledge and understanding of the laws.¹ The penalty for disobedience was a fine of £20 to be paid to the king. Some writers suggest that this statute is a proof of the high level in education reached in Scotland at this time. It is true that it presupposes the existence of grammar schools, but it more probably emphasises the backward state of education and endeavoured to improve it by legal enactment. The Act only applied to the wealthier people, "men of substance," and there is no evidence that it was ever enforced.

In the Middle Ages it was one thing to enact a law but quite another to get it obeyed, and the complaint of John Major in 1521, "the gentry educate their children neither in letters nor in morals—no small calamity to the state," shows that the Act was not universally observed. The Act, however, foreshadowed the line of development of the national education in later years.

The second important development in 15th century Scottish education was the foundation of the universities. Before this time Scotland had no institution for higher education and scholars, after leaving the grammar schools, were forced to travel abroad to continue their studies. Many Scottish students were to be found in the universities of Bologna, Geneva, Pisa, Louvain, and Padua. In the latter, the Scottish students formed a "Nation" and later, at Paris, the Bishop of Moray founded a Scots college in 1326. Other students pursued their studies at Oxford and Cambridge. Those who travelled overseas ran the risk of attack by pirates, and because of the almost continual warfare between England and Scotland, it was not an easy matter for Scottish students to enter England. James I fell into the hands of the English and remained a prisoner for a considerable time.

Yet in spite of the difficulties, quite a number of students found their way to the English universities, and to maintain poor Scottish students at Oxford, Sir John Balliol founded a college there. His work was completed by his widow, Devorgilla, the founder of New Abbey (Sweetheart Abbey) in Kirkcudbrightshire. There was, however, a strong feeling that the needs of Scottish students could only be met by a university in Scotland. Bishop Wardlaw of St. Andrews obtained from Benedict XIII a Bull of foundation for a *studium generale* in 1411. The university was modelled upon Paris and Bologna and its members were divided into Nations

¹ The reference to schools of Art and Law (*sculis of Art and Jure*) refers to higher monastic schools where the art of charter-writing was taught.

according to the district from which they came. (Fife, Lothian, Angus, and Alban. The last included all students who were not in the first three nations)

The arrival of the Papal Bull was the occasion of great rejoicing and even James I, still a captive in England, heartily approved of the new foundation. When he was released from captivity, he confirmed the privileges of the university by a Royal Charter and did all in his power to ensure its successful development.¹

At the beginning, the University of St. Andrews had few students and teachers. There were no colleges, and students lodged in the town. Shortly after its foundation, Robert of Montrose provided a house for the students of theology and other benefactors began to add to the buildings of the university. In the early days, the teaching was carried on in buildings lent or hired for the purpose and the professors had no salary. By the time of the Reformation, St. Andrews possessed three colleges: St. Salvator's, 1450, founded by Bishop Kennedy, the successor of Wardlaw; St. Leonard's, 1512, founded by Archbishop Alexander Stuart; and St. Mary's, founded by Archbishop James Beaton in 1537. The distinguished scholastic, John Major, was the Principal of St. Salvator's.

Glasgow was the next university to be established and its foundation in 1450 was due to the influence of William Turnbull, Bishop of Glasgow, who persuaded James II to petition Pope Nicholas V for a Bull authorising its inception. The Royal Charter was received in 1453. Glasgow University was modelled on Bologna and Louvain. Like St. Andrews, Glasgow had no buildings for teaching purposes and students were obliged to attend classes in the cathedral and other churches. Later, a tenement in the High Street with four acres of land was given by Sir Gavin Hamilton. It seems he had some doubts about the success of the institution for in the charter he asserted the right of his heirs to take back the land into their possession. His Scottish caution was perhaps justified, for Glasgow had a very chequered history for a number of years, and it was not until the time of Andrew Melville that it was in a flourishing condition.

Scotland's third university was founded at Aberdeen in 1494, when Alexander VI issued a Bull to James IV and Bishop Elphinstone. The King had sent a petition to the Pope asking for his authority to establish a university, and he urged its foundation on

¹ One of the privileges was that its members were exempt from all taxes.

the ground that owing to the geographical features of the Highlands and their remoteness from seats of learning, the people were ignorant and almost barbarians. As a consequence it was difficult to find suitable priests to preach and administer the sacraments. The King was probably referring not so much to Aberdeen itself, which was provided with schools and had produced already some well-known scholars, as to the wild country to the north and west. In any case, he no doubt thought it worth while to colour his petition highly to ensure its success. Elphinstone, who had been Rector of Glasgow University, fully realised from his experience the vicissitudes resulting from an institution which is unendowed, and he took good care that Aberdeen had sufficient endowments to pay the salaries of its teachers. Hence, in its early days, the University of Aberdeen had a more flourishing career than the earlier foundations.

The foundation of three universities (the fourth, Edinburgh, was founded in the next century) was a marvellous achievement in those days for a country such as Scotland. Her population was scanty,¹ and the land was disturbed both by constant warfare with England and by rebellions of the nobles against the king. Moreover, compared with England, Scotland was a very poor country, and remained so until the expansion of trade in the 17th century and the industrial changes of the 18th. Her largest towns were not much more populous than English villages. Glasgow in 1450 had about 1500 inhabitants, and Aberdeen as late as 1572 had a population of less than 3000. Edinburgh itself was not much larger. We may suspect that much of the teaching in the early days of the universities was little in advance of that given in the grammar schools, and a good deal later the school complained that the functions of the grammar school and university overlapped to a considerable extent, to the detriment of the former. The importance of the universities at this period lay in the fact that from the beginning they provided the basis from which future development could spring, and after the Reformation they were able to play a leading part in the intellectual life and cultural progress of the kingdom.

The effects of the Renaissance reached Scotland almost a century later than in England, with the consequence that they had barely time to be felt before the country was thrown into turmoil owing to the Reformation. At the end of the 15th century, the

¹ Even by 1560, it was probably not more than half a million.

Renaissance was represented by the works of such men as William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas, and the introduction of printing and the dissemination of books led to the growth of Lecture Schools in the burghs for teaching reading and writing.¹ Another effect was the increasing interest in education shown by the town councils, and their claim to have a share in the patronage of schools. The first recorded appointment to a school by a burgh was that at Peebles in 1464. The claims of the burghs led them into conflict with the Church and we shall see that the Reformation speeded up the process by which the burghs obtained control over their schools. Dr. Strong illustrates this development by the following example.² In 1418, at Aberdeen, the master of the school was presented for examination to the Chancellor by the Provost and the community of the burgh. In 1509, John Merschell was appointed by the "provost, bailzeis, counsale, and communitie" without reference to the Chancellor. This occasioned an appeal to Rome by the Church, but the quarrel concerning the patronage of the school broke out again in 1538. The town council appointed Hugh Munro, but the Chancellor had already selected Robert Skeyne. The council prevailed, but when Munro retired in 1550, the new master, James Chalmer, was appointed by the burgh council and sent to the Chancellor for admission "as vse hes bene tharrof in tymes bigane." The claim of the town councils was a reasonable one since in many cases they had undertaken the provision and upkeep of the school buildings and even the payment of the master's salary. There are also instances where the Church authorities and the council combined to exercise supervision over the school.

The earliest known teaching of Greek in Scottish schools is 1534, when Andrew Melville was taught the language by a French teacher in the grammar school of Montrose and later surprised the masters at the University of St. Andrews by being able to read Aristotle in the original. Greek was introduced into the schools of Aberdeen about 1540, and, as in England, a few schools taught Hebrew. Owing to the close friendship between Scotland and France, the teaching of French was fairly widespread, and shortly after the Reformation the town council of Edinburgh licensed a schoolmaster to keep a school for the teaching of French.

¹ Grant (*op. cit.*, p. 63) thinks that the earliest lecture school was that in Edinburgh in 1479.

² J. Strong. *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland*, pp. 33-4, Clarendon Press, 1909.

The supporters of the Reformation had grown so powerful by 1543 that they influenced Parliament to enact that the Bible might be read in English or Scottish translation. In 1557, the lords of the congregation, inspired by John Knox, drew up their covenant and by 1560, the Protestant party became supreme in Parliament and an Act was passed abolishing the Mass and the Papal authority, and adopting the Confession of Faith drawn up by Knox and his supporters. The Reformed Church asserted the control over education claimed and exercised by the Catholic Church, and John Knox thought the time was ripe for a complete reorganisation of Scottish education. He realised the decay into which the rural parish schools had by now fallen. The burgh and the grammar schools were fairly efficient largely due to the zeal and interest displayed by the town councils, which not only had the patronage of the schools in their hands, but were also financially concerned in them. The universities, especially Glasgow, were not in a flourishing state, and many students preferred to seek higher education in England or on the Continent. It was to meet these conditions that Knox prepared for the consideration of Parliament a scheme in which he was assisted by his colleagues Wynram and Douglas. The organisation proposed forms part of his *First Book of Discipline*, which was mainly concerned with religion, education, and the poor, and his scheme was so clearly thought out, so masterly in its conception, and so comprehensive in its scope, as to be several hundred years in advance of the time.¹

Knox proposed the establishment of a school in every parish or associated with every kirk. Its function was to supply primary education for children up to the age of eight. Grammar and Latin might be taught, but in rural districts, where a competent schoolmaster would be difficult to obtain, the minister or reader should be responsible for seeing that the village children were instructed in elementary subjects and the Catechism, *i.e.* the Catechism of Calvin, translated in the *Book of Common Order*. Those who could afford it would be compelled to educate their children at their own expense, but the children of the poor would be paid for by the Church and maintained at school, either to proceed to a university, if capable of higher studies, or be set to a trade. From the elementary school the pupil would go to a grammar school. No scholar of ability

¹ The title *First Book of Discipline* was adopted to distinguish it from a later book of Discipline written by Andrew Melville. Although Knox was the chief author of the *First Book of Discipline*, there is no proof that he wrote the section on Education. The book was issued in 1560.

was to be barred from the grammar school on account of poverty. This involved the establishment of a grammar school in every important town where, under a master appointed by the Church, the pupil would learn "grammar and the Latine toung" for a period of three or four years. In every notable town there was to be a higher grammar school, or college, where a four years' course in logic, rhetoric, and languages, would be provided. Finally, those who could produce a satisfactory certificate from the master of the school and the minister might enter one of the three "great Schollis callit Universities". At each stage, the pupil's progress would be supervised and tested each quarter by the minister and other learned persons, and if, at the end of any course, a pupil was found not to be fitted for further study, he would be sent to craft or other suitable occupation. At whatever stage a pupil's education ceased, it was to be ensured that he had received sufficient religious and moral instruction to enable him to become a responsible member of the kirk. The scheme was meant to be compulsory.

"No father of what estate or condition that ever he be, can use his children at his own fantisie, especially in their youth-head," wrote John Knox, "but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue." The reason for compulsion was the claim of the State, "that the Commonwealth may have some comfort by them." The pupil who was unfit to proceed to the next stage in his education was, as we have seen, to be put to handicraft. "It is pretty certain that Knox did not intend that the embryonic handicraftsman who was to make a profitable exercise of his life, should waste his time in grinding at Latin grammar. He knew that there were pupils for whom university training would be of no benefit either to themselves or to their country, pupils who were intended by nature to be hewers of wood or drawers of water, and whose proper and unalterable sphere of action was handicraft or other functions subordinately intellectual."¹

The scheme of John Knox presented a magnificent ideal far in advance of anything that had been worked out at that period and if it had been adopted in its entirety, it would have revolutionised the whole of Scottish history. It was, as Dr. Kerr says, "a national misfortune" that it was not fully carried out. John Knox knew that his scheme would require a great deal of money, but he had carefully provided for this. He proposed that the money used by

¹ J. Kerr. *Scottish Education, School and University*, p. 78, C.U.P., 1910.

the Catholic Church for education, and the incomes of the abbeys and chantries which had been suppressed, should be given to the building and maintenance of schools and colleges, and teachers and professors. What happened in England in the 16th century took place on a more thorough scale in Scotland. The greed and rapacity of the nobles knew no bounds and only a small proportion of the money found its way to the Scottish Church which, in the view of John Knox, should provide the funds for education. When Knox put his proposals to Parliament, Maitland, the Queen's Secretary, styled them "a devout imagination." Knox was bitterly incensed, but he could do but little to prevent the nobles from seizing the spoils of the Catholic Church. A small amount of money did indeed find its way to the funds of the Kirk, but the result was that for generations both religion and learning had to contend with insufficiency of money.

It is easy to criticise Knox's scheme in detail as being too bound to mediaeval scholastic learning, or its policy of handing over the control of education to the Church, but it is important to remember that every man is limited by the age in which he lives. Knox's views have proved a living ideal to which the Scottish nation, step by step, through many generations, has striven to attain. Dr. Strong summarises the great principles of his scheme as follows.¹

(a) It was a national system; (b) education was graded from the primary school to the university; (c) all schools were to be periodically examined; (d) promotion depended upon successful effort; (e) provision was made for the free education of poor but clever pupils. One could add that the very point on which Dr. Strong criticises the scheme is perhaps one of its greatest features, namely, Knox's clear perception and firm conviction that all sound education must rest on a religious basis and that the Church at that time was the only organised body that could or would superintend education.

The graded course from the elementary school to the university did not come into existence and pupils passed to their higher studies not only from the grammar school but also from the parochial schools. It was this association of the parochial schools of Scotland and the universities that was distinctive of Scottish education for so many generations and which resulted in a less rigid line of demarcation between elementary and secondary education than in England. The support which the Church was unable to give

¹ J. Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

was partially provided by the efforts of the town councils. Indeed, it was largely the poverty of the Church that accounts for the ease with which the burgh schools passed into municipal control. The Church at first opposed the claims of the municipalities, but eventually a concordat was established whereby both bodies were able to work harmoniously together. The parish schools, which became the backbone of the Scottish educational effort, remained under Church control, with the result that in no country was the power of the Church over elementary education so complete as in Scotland.

In pursuance of its claim to control education, the Church enacted in 1565 that nobody should have charge of schools, colleges, or universities, or teach privately, unless he was "tried" by the kirk, *i.e.* examined by the Presbytery, or admitted by the kirk. The decree of the Church was supported by an Act of Parliament in 1567. The power thus gained was freely exercised. We read of the dismissal of schoolmasters who refused to conform to the Confession of Faith, the suspension of masters and tutors for teaching Popery, the fixing of age limits for university students, and the making of the provisions for bursars. The schoolmaster was also expected to take a leading part in the parish work of the kirk such as reading prayers on Sundays or acting as precentor or session clerk. This was partly due to the fact that a large number of priests had refused to accept the changes in religion. An interesting case is provided by William Robertson, Master of the Grammar School at Edinburgh. He remained an adherent of the old faith and the town council wished to remove him. Robertson refused to resign and appealed to Queen Mary, and the council was obliged to retain him and pay his salary. It was not until 20 years later, 1584, that Robertson agreed to give up his post on consideration of the payment of a generous pension.

The people who resented most the introduction of the new religion were the schoolboys. They had been accustomed to holidays on the feast days of the old Church, but the Reformers abolished the holidays at Easter and Christmas because they thought the keeping of these festivals savoured of Popery. The schoolboys demanded the holidays as a right, and in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and other towns, frequent riots and rebellions occurred. At Aberdeen, the scholars took possession of the school and held it by armed force against the masters. In 1587, at Edinburgh High School, a similar event occurred, and in 1595, when the council refused their petition for a holiday, the scholars took possession

of the school and barred out the Master, Mr Rollock. He applied to the magistrates for assistance and John Macmorran, a member of the town council, was shot through the head and killed when he was trying to force open the door.

During the latter part of the 16th century and most of the 17th century there is evidence to show that the town councils made great efforts to procure the best qualified masters for the burgh schools, and that the Church authorities, as far as their financial resources would allow, made an honest attempt to put into practice the recommendations of John Knox. As Grant shows, they frequently protested to the King and Parliament against the behaviour of the nobles in regard to their "wrangous using of the patrimony of the Kirk to the great hurt of scullis."¹

The schoolmaster's lot in these times was not a happy one. He suffered from insecurity of tenure; it was not until the 18th century that the custom became common of appointing the master for life, *ad vitam aut culpam*. There was no provision for pensions, and since endowments were few and slender, the schoolmaster largely depended on his fees. If at the quarterly examination of the school the results of his teaching were not considered satisfactory, he was liable to dismissal. He sometimes had a house provided, but his finances were frequently so straitened that he gladly availed himself of goodwill gifts from the parents. One source of profit, as in England, was from cockfighting, and the pupils either supplied the cocks or compensation in money.² Before the Reformation, the schoolmaster was high in the social order but his position had now declined. However, it is surprising how efficient the average schoolmaster was in spite of his handicaps. Political changes caused him a good deal of concern. When the Presbyterians were in power, he had to sign the Covenant, but when, as in the reign of Charles II, the Episcopalians were supreme, he had to accept the Prayer Book.³

The University of Glasgow, which had nearly ceased to exist in the middle of the 16th century, received some help from Queen

¹ J. Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

² Sometimes the council supplied the master with coal or a money equivalent, and parents often sent a load of peat to the schoolhouse. Grants to buy clothes were made and one town council subscribed half a guinea to buy the assistant a new hat. This may have been on account of his poverty or quite likely it was due to the fact that the wearing of a hat added to his dignity.

³ When Presbyterianism was suppressed in 1662, the schoolmaster had to be licensed by the Bishop as in England, but in 1690, William III once again recognised the Presbyterian form of Church government.

Mary, who assigned the monastic property of Glasgow to the town council. On the advice of James VI, this was presented to the university but, owing to maladministration and fraud, the property only yielded a yearly income of £300 Scots. When Andrew Melville returned from the Continent in 1574 with a great reputation as a scholar, he found Glasgow University in what has been described as a state "of suspended animation." He accepted the post of Principal and began with determination to revive the university. Although after six years he was transferred to St. Andrews, yet in this short time he brought about revolutionary changes which placed Glasgow on a sound footing. He began by abolishing what was known as the "regenting" system in which all students who entered in any one session were placed under the same regent or tutor, who took them through their studies until they graduated. Obviously this did not conduce to sound scholarship since it would be rare to find one man who was equally good at every subject. Melville substituted for this a system whereby a separate lecturer became responsible for each main subject of the university course. Lack of staff forced him to train a number of promising young men himself, which speaks much for his wide range of scholarship. He instituted four new chairs—in languages, science, philosophy, and divinity, which latter he held himself—and he insisted on Latin and Greek being continued throughout the university course instead of being dropped at an early stage. James VI in 1577 granted a new charter to the university which recognised the reforms. Melville introduced similar reforms into Aberdeen in 1575 and St. Andrews in 1579. His transfer to St. Andrews was in order to supervise the working of the reforms there. The latter part of Melville's life was devoted to opposing the attempt of James VI to impose Episcopalianism on the Scottish people.

The original college of Aberdeen was King's College, but in 1593, Marischal College was founded by George, Earl Marischal of Scotland, and the two colleges were united under the University of Aberdeen in 1641. This union broke up later and the two colleges again became separate institutions until 1860.

The University of Edinburgh is an example of a foundation due to the efforts of the municipality. The accounts of its foundation differ considerably, but we do know that from 1582 the college carried out the work of a university in granting degrees. In 1621 an Act of Parliament granted Edinburgh the full privileges of a university. In 1592, Sir Alexander Fraser made an attempt to

found a fifth university at Fraserburgh, but the institution was short-lived.

It will perhaps be more convenient to consider the later developments in education under separate heads and begin with an account of the Parochial Schools. When the Church, in the 17th century, was unable to achieve its policy by direct means, it endeavoured to carry it into effect by securing Acts of Parliament. Thus in 1616 the Privy Council directed "that in every parish of this kingdom, where convenient means may be had for entertaining a School, a School shall be established, and a fit person appointed to teach the same upon the expense of the parochinaries, according to the quality and quantity of the parish." This decree was ratified by Parliament in 1633 and was the first Act authorising the establishment of Parish Schools. Another Act for founding schools was passed in 1646 which ordered the heritors¹ to provide a school-house and a stipend for the master in every parish. Once again the law was largely disregarded and in 1662 it was repealed. These early Acts were incorporated in the important Act for Settling Schools of 1696. This law ordered "that there be a School settled and established, and a Schoolmaster appointed, in every parish not already provided by the advice of the heritors and ministers of the parish." The schoolmaster was to be provided with a commodious house which should be used for a school and that the "stent" (assessment) should come half from the tenants and half from the heritors to pay his salary. If the heritors refused to act, the presbytery could apply to the Commissioners of Supply² to carry out the provision at the expense of the heritors.

The Presbyteries did their best to compel the heritors to carry out their obligations, but many parishes still remained without schools. Progress in establishing schools was slow and by 1732 only 109 new schools had been built. "Notwithstanding the inadequacies of the parish school system after the 1696 Act, and the difficulties which presbyteries had during the eighteenth century in arousing, sometimes through vigorous measures, the heritors of the country and magistrates of the towns to understand and to fulfil

¹ *Heritor*—Scottish freeholder.

The Act of 1646 authorised the Presbyters to nominate "twelve honest men" to carry out the law if the heritors neglected their duties. Graham remarks, "It was all very well to appoint 'twelve honest men' to look after the heritors; but who was to look after the twelve honest men?" H. G. Graham, *Social Life of Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 419, A. and C. Black, 1909.

² Commissioners of Supply were similar to the Commissioners of Land Tax in England.

their legal obligations toward education, it exercised a profound influence upon Scottish character and education. During the eighteenth century it was not only instrumental in satisfying the desire for education on both the primary and secondary levels, but it was also an influential agency in cultivating further interest in education. . . . By opening an educational highway to the universities and the learned professions, the parish school encouraged boys with ability and determination to pursue their studies beyond the primary school level.”¹

One important defect of the Act was the stipend laid down by law for the schoolmaster: a minimum of 100 merks (£5 9s.) and a maximum of 200 merks (£10 18s.).

At the beginning of the 18th century this represented a stipend which would just keep a married man and his family. Owing to the rapid fall in the value of money, by the end of the century schoolmasters were in dire poverty, and it was not until 1803 that another Act of Parliament raised the schoolmaster's salary to a minimum of 300 and a maximum of 400 merks and provided a dwelling house and a fenced garden. The man who enjoyed this princely salary was expected to have graduated and to be capable of teaching the elementary subjects together with Latin, Greek, French, and mathematics. He was exceedingly fortunate if he received the whole of his statutory salary. It often had to be collected in petty sums from the heritors and tenants and frequently he was put off by stories of bad harvests and disease amongst the cattle.² No wonder that the schoolmaster sought other means of augmenting his income. Cock-fighting has been mentioned previously. One custom which added to his salary was the payment of “bent silver.” The schoolroom often had an earthen floor which was covered with rushes or bent. In early times the children were given a holiday to collect the bent but later, once in a quarter, the bent silver was handed in as a substitute. The children continued to have holidays to mark the occasion. In many parishes where no school-house existed, classes were taught in the kirk or in any barn or stable which happened

¹ N. A. Wade. *Post-Primary Education in the Primary Schools of Scotland*, 1872-1936, p. 22, University of London Press, 1939.

² At Prestonpans there was an endowment of 70 merks a year. This furnished the heritors with an excuse and in 1725 they refused to contribute on the grounds that the endowment produced a sufficient sum to pay the master's salary. In Kirkcudbright in 1696, the schoolmaster was paid £7 Scots from the fines which had been imposed for misdemeanours. The pound Scots amounted to 1s. 8d. and became obsolete after an Act passed in the reign of Anne.

to be vacant.¹ In others, the school-house was often in a semi-ruinous condition with leaky roof,² small windows, often unglazed, and very little in the way of furniture³

Children travelled miles over the moors to start school at seven o'clock in the morning. On winter days, the only means of warmth was a peat fire which filled the small room with dense clouds of smoke. In the Highlands, where pupils lived at small farms widely separated from each other by moors and hills, a system reminiscent of the Welsh Circulating Schools was in vogue. The master travelled from house to house and staying a short period in each filthy, verminous hovel, instructed the Gaelic-speaking children in the English language. Probably in no modern State has education been carried on under such difficult and heartbreaking conditions and our admiration increases when we realise how efficiently the schoolmasters carried out their duties and the remarkable influence which the parish school exerted upon the Scottish people. As in England, order was maintained by a free use of the birch or tawse (strap). In Aberdeenshire, a curious piece of school furniture known as the "queelin" or cooling stone was in use in many schools even until the beginning of the 19th century. When a boy had been flogged he was made to sit upon a smooth flat stone. It is uncertain whether this was an act of mercy designed to assuage his pain or part of his punishment.

Reference has been made to the Act of 1803 which raised the stipends of the parish schoolmasters. In the Highlands and Western Islands, parishes were of such extent that often two school-houses were needed for a single parish. In such cases, the heritors might provide a salary of 600 merks without a house and divide the money between two or more parishes. The additional school was known as a Side School. The Act laid down that the schoolmaster should be elected by the minister and the heritors; after examination and approval by the Presbytery, he was required to subscribe to the Confession of Faith.

¹ At Strathblane, the school was held in the kirk until 1731 and then was transferred to a stable at the inn.

² Frequently the Kirk-Session ordered the pupils to bring straw to thatch the roof. At one school, it was found that straw was so scarce that season that only half of the school roof could be covered.

³ In 1677, Mr. Thomas Kirke of Cookridge, Yorks, and his friend Ralph Thoresby, the historian of Leeds, toured Scotland on horseback. The former wrote an account of his journey, *The Journal of Thomas Kirke, Esq. of Cookridge, An. 1677, Through Most Parts of Scotland*. At Burntisland he found that there were no forms in the school. There was a seat for the master but the scholars sat on the heather and grass covered floor "like pigs in a sty."

The Act did not apply to the large towns where great deficiencies in school accommodation existed,¹ and it was ineffective in dealing with the large scattered parishes of the Highlands and the Islands. The conditions of this part of the country had impressed a number of nobles and country gentry at whose instigation the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge was formed. The society received Letters Patent in 1709 and with the help of the General Assembly it set about the business of establishing schools. One of the earliest schools erected by the S.P.C.K. was in the remote island of St. Kilda. George I gave an annual grant of £1000 for the work in the Highlands and the S.P.C.K. received £2000 from the estates forfeited as a result of the 1715 Rebellion. It was due to the work of the society that, in conjunction with the Presbytery, the school at Stornoway in Lewis was reopened after a closure of some years. The S.P.C.K. was instrumental in establishing a Spinning School at Stornoway in 1763. It was at first difficult to persuade the women to attend, as a story had been circulated that it was part of a scheme to send them to the Plantations.² When they had been reassured, the school became a great success. The Scottish Spinning Schools form an interesting feature of this period.³

The first two Stuarts had encouraged the development of the Scottish woollen and linen manufactures and the earliest school of which we have record was opened at Peebles in 1633, but the disturbed conditions of the mid 17th century did not encourage the development of further experiments. Spinning schools were established in the early part of the 18th century by the Board of Trustees for Manufactures and later by the S.P.C.K. One of the expressed objects of the society was "To Erect and Maintain Schools, to Teach to Read, especially the Holy Scripture and other good and pious books; As also to Teach Writing, Arithmetick, and such like degrees of Knowledge in the Highlands, Islands, and remote Corners of Scotland." At first the S.P.C.K. kept strictly to this curriculum but later, as in the case of the similar movement in England, instruction was given in industrial subjects. New

¹ Even as late as 1873 the deficiency of elementary school places was about 30,000 in Glasgow and over 4,000 in Edinburgh

² The rumour may have started from the fact that in the north a type of linen (Harns) was manufactured to supply clothing for the negroes in the Plantations.

³ A full account is given by Irene F. M. Deans in *Scottish Spinning Schools*, University of London Press, 1930.

Letters Patent issued in 1738 allowed the society to do this, provided it did not neglect its former work. Thus, in the Minutes of the society from 1753 to 1767, we find encouragement given to the teaching of Gaelic and the establishment of spinning schools. Nearly 100 dame schools for girls were built. In some of the schools the curriculum was expanded to include such studies as mathematics, Latin, Greek, music, and book-keeping. Raining's School, founded by the S.P.C.K. in Inverness in 1757, provided a definite secondary education. At the beginning of the 19th century, the S.P.C.K. had about 290 schools with nearly 16,000 scholars.

The philanthropic movements of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, *e.g.* Sunday Schools, Infant Schools and Monitorial Schools, affected Scotland and have already received attention in Chapter V in connection with the work of Bell, Stow, Wilderspin, Wood, and Owen. The Ragged School movement was also an important influence in Scottish educational effort amongst the poor. Three years before the London Ragged School Union was formed, Sheriff Watson opened the first Ragged School in Aberdeen in 1841. A similar school for girls was opened in 1843, and a mixed school in 1845. The movement spread to Dundee and other towns, but the great apostle of the movement was the Rev. Thomas Guthrie. Through his pamphlets, he kindled a fire of enthusiasm, and the schools founded through the efforts of Dr. Guthrie saved hundreds of children from a life of crime and poverty.

When in 1833 the Government voted a grant of £20,000 for building schools in England, Scotland did not receive any money, but from 1834 to 1839 an annual grant of £10,000 was paid. An Act of 1838 set aside part of the grant for endowing schools in the Highlands for which the heritors were to provide a school-room, a master's house and a garden. These schools were afterwards known as Parliamentary Schools. In 1837 and 1839, the respective sums of £6000 and £4000 were set aside from the grant for this purpose. In 1839 the Committee of the Privy Council was formed and as far as State intervention is concerned, the Scottish schools came under the same system of grant and inspection as English schools. Part of the annual grant of £30,000 was allocated to Scotland. As was the case in regard to some denominational schools in England, quite a number of Scottish parochial schools did not avail themselves of the increased income provided by the grant.

In 1843 came the Great Disruption, when 470 ministers left the Established Church and formed the Free Church. Sectarian

bitterness was rife for a time and the Free Church began to build its own schools, often in places where a parochial school already existed. Thus in some districts there was overlapping, whilst in others the deficiency in school places still remained. These years were the only period in which the religious difficulty which had proved so formidable a problem in England, invaded Scottish education, but the disturbance was mainly confined to competition between the Established and Free Church schools in certain districts. In 1829 the parochial schools had been opened to all denominations, including Roman Catholics, and parents were able to withdraw their children from religious instruction they did not approve.

The Revised Code was intended to apply to Scotland. The parochial schools, with a wider and more liberal tradition than the English elementary schools, resented its introduction bitterly, and in 1864 the most injurious part of the Code, Payment by Results, was withdrawn, although the examination in the three R's was retained. One of the chief grounds for the opposition to the Revised Code was that it introduced class distinctions into the schools and tended to destroy the democratic tradition. Shorn of its most vicious feature, the Code produced certain beneficial results. There had always been a tendency for the schoolmaster to concentrate on his able pupils with the hope of sending them to the university. Inspection and examination forced him to spend more time and effort on the less able who thus became better grounded in the elementary subjects.

The Act of 1861 increased the schoolmaster's stipend to a minimum of £35 and a maximum of £70 per annum and gave him certain advantages as regards his accommodation. Women teachers were recognised with a salary of not more than £30 a year. The examination for teachers was taken out of the hands of Presbyteries and put under the control of the universities. The schoolmaster was no longer obliged to subscribe to the Confession of Faith but merely had to make a declaration that he would not teach anything contrary to the doctrine of the Church of Scotland. We can now leave the parochial schools for a time and turn our attention to the progress of other educational agencies prior to 1872.

According to Dr. Strong, the progress of the burgh or grammar schools from the Reformation to 1872 falls into three well-marked periods.¹ In the first, which extended well into the 18th century,

¹ J. Strong, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-6.

the dominant subject of the curriculum was Classics, especially Latin. The second period, which began about the middle of the 18th century and continued to the early years of the 19th, was characterised by a reaction against the exclusively linguistic outlook of the schools. This produced in turn a state of confusion in regard to both educational aims and organisation.

The scheme proposed by John Knox had failed to materialise through lack of funds. The burgh or grammar schools still continued to supply the bulk of secondary education, especially in the towns, and like the grammar schools of the same period in England, their curriculum was almost entirely classical. The Scottish Parliament in 1607 tried to follow the example of England and attempted to prescribe a national Grammar to be used in all schools. Fortunately the attempt met with failure.¹

Already by the beginning of the 17th century, certain schools in the larger towns, because of the number of their scholars, and the ability of their masters, were taking the lead in secondary education. The outstanding examples were the Grammar Schools of Edinburgh and Glasgow. The classical curriculum of the schools and the demand that pupils should be grounded in the reading and writing of English before admission to the grammar school led Edinburgh and Glasgow to the establishment of separate preparatory schools not unlike the petty schools of England. The grammar schools in non-university towns taught the elementary subjects in the grammar school itself and in this way approximated to the parochial schools. In fact, some parochial schools, such as that at Kilmarnock, eventually became grammar schools. As in the case of England, we occasionally find other subjects than the Classics taught in grammar schools, e.g. book-keeping, navigation, mathematics, drawing, and French. In large schools such as those of Edinburgh and Glasgow, the regenting system mentioned in connection with the universities was adopted. Thus at Edinburgh there was a staff consisting of a principal master and four regents or doctors, who kept their classes through each year until they handed them over to the principal master. As the schools were financed by the town councils, it naturally followed that the council would take a prominent part in the affairs of its grammar school. At Peebles in 1649 the council drew up a set of regulations for the conduct of the school, and in most burghs, the council visited the

¹ Ruddiman's *Rudiments* appeared in 1714 and was universally used for 150 years, but this was by consent and not by legal enactment.

school at regular intervals. They were very proud of their grammar schools and did all they could to promote the efficiency of the instruction. In some towns the council insisted upon compulsory attendance and inflicted fines for disobedience. In the 17th century the councils prohibited the opening of other schools in the district without a licence, but towards the end of the next century this discipline was relaxed and some councils even encouraged private adventure schools.

About the middle of the 18th century a reaction against the classical curriculum set in. The trade and industries of Scotland were quickly developing and a demand for a type of education of a more practical character which would help the pupil in his career began to show itself. This movement was not altogether unconnected with changes that were taking place in the universities. The ideas of educationists like Comenius, Locke, and, later, Rousseau, were beginning to be known in Scotland. The pioneer of the reform movement was the town council of Ayr. In 1746 it introduced into the grammar school instruction, arithmetic, geometry, algebra, natural philosophy, navigation, surveying, and literature, and announced that their aim was to give the scholars a preparation "for business in the most expeditious and effectual way possible." The example of Ayr inspired Perth to go a stage further. This town took the lead in the teaching of science, and in 1761 opened the first academy, an innovation soon followed in other towns. Many of the grammar schools were housed in ancient and dilapidated buildings, and often, instead of reconstructing these, the councils preferred to erect academies. The latter not only taught Classics but included mathematics, modern languages, and commercial subjects in the curriculum.

A curious state of affairs came into existence. In some towns the academy and the older grammar school were rivals, in others the academy superseded or absorbed the grammar school. Thus some schools, originally grammar schools, have since been known as academies. In Edinburgh and Glasgow, where the grammar schools had a great reputation, they continued in their original rôle. New endowed schools such as the Dollar Academy and St. Andrews Madras School were founded. The latter owed its origin to Dr. Bell, who gave a sum of £50,000 to the town council in 1831 on condition that the old grammar school should be transferred to the trustees of Dr. Bell and the monitorial system of

instruction adopted.¹ In such cases, the town council lost most of its control over the school. The new academies had their own governors elected by the subscribers.

The new developments resulted in what may be called a state of educational chaos. A fresh type of school had appeared which affected the older grammar schools considerably. The curricula of schools were expanding in different directions and staffs began to increase. Unfortunately there was no clear idea of the aims and purpose of secondary education and experiments were being made in the dark. In many schools there was no controlling authority but often several departments existed, each independent of the rest. Dundee High School presented a good example with eight departments each having its independent headmaster, but no rector to exercise co-ordination. The universities, if they had been constituted on the English model, might have had some influence in controlling matters, but as they had no external examinations or even entrance examinations, their effect on the schools was negligible. Later we shall see that this state of affairs produced the Royal Commission on the universities in 1826, and the University Act of 1858. Dr. Strong speaks of Dundee as "a little republic without a chief magistrate." At Edinburgh, the rector was in absolute control of the school and in other towns the administration varied between these two extremes. As a rule there were no compulsory studies. Each subject taken was paid for separately and the parent made the choice for his child. It was quite possible for a pupil to attend a grammar school for some subject and a private adventure school for others. The reader will recollect that in England the great problem was to bring some flexibility into the rigid classical curriculum of the public and grammar schools. In Scotland it was the opposite problem of introducing order and organisation into the chaos and confusion into which misguided, or rather unguided, zeal, had led the grammar schools.

One more type of institution calls for mention. In the matter of educational endowments, Scotland was very unfortunate as compared with England. Very little money or property was left to the Reformed Church to endow schools and until later years, few benefactors appeared to help the cause of education. Practically the only bequest of importance for education until the middle of the 17th century was a modest sum given to Dunfermline by Anne of Denmark, the Queen of James VI. In 1639, George Hutcheson

¹ The Cupar Academy was founded in a similar way by Dr. Bell.

of Glasgow left land for the erection of a hospital for poor and aged men. Two years later his brother Thomas left money and land for the building of a "commodious and distinct house" associated with the hospital to house and educate 12 orphan boys who were sons of the citizens of Glasgow. Similar hospitals were founded in Aberdeen, Stirling, and other towns. Some of them were for the aged and infirm and only partially concerned with education. In course of time, the hospital system became obsolete and the trustees sought powers from Parliament for their reorganisation. As a result various Acts, including the Education Act of 1872, were passed which put the hospitals on a new footing and they were able to play their part in the secondary education of Scotland. Thus the Hutcheson Hospital at Glasgow came under the administration of the Hutcheson Trust which erected a number of first-class schools for boys and girls.

One of the most famous endowed institutions was the George Heriot Hospital at Edinburgh which originated from the bequest of George Heriot, a jeweller and goldsmith to James VI. He became a very wealthy man and when James became King of England, he followed his sovereign to London. Heriot died in February 1623/4 after he had invested the bulk of his fortune in land in the city of Edinburgh. After several personal legacies, his will directed that the remainder of his property should go to "the Provost, Bailies, Ministers (of the Established Church), and the Town Council of Edinburgh, for founding and erecting an Hospital in that city; and for purchasing land to belong in perpetuity to the Institution, to be employed for the maintenance, relief, bringing up, and educating, as far as the means will allow, of so many poor fatherless boys, freemen's sons of the town of Edinburgh." ¹ Heriot had evidently been impressed by Christ's Hospital and had made up his mind to found a similar institution in his native city. In a paper written a year before his decease, he set down his wish "And forsaemikle as I intend be Goddis grace, in the zeale off pietie, to found and erect ane publick, pious, and charitable worke within the said burgh of Edinburgh, to the glorie of God, ffor the publick weill and ornament of the said burgh of Edinburgh, ffor the honour and dew regaird quhilk I have and bears to my native soyle, and mother citie of Edinburgh forsaide; and in imitatione of the publick,

¹ Dr. F. W. Bedford. *History of George Heriot's Hospital*, p. 33, Bell and Bradfute, 1872

pious, and religious work foundat within the citie of London called Chrystis Hospital thair. to be callit in all tyme coming Hospital and Seminarie of Orphans" Building commenced in 1628, but the hospital was on such a grand scale that it was not until 1659 that it was ready for the accommodation of thirty boys.¹ By 1695 that number had increased to 130, who, when they were old enough, were sent to the High School.

This practice ceased in 1809 when schoolmasters were appointed for the hospital. In 1835 an Act of Parliament abolished the hospital system and schools for poor children were built in various parts of the city. The Hospital Trust had erected 16 schools accommodating 4000 children by 1872.² As a consequence of the Colebrooke Commission of 1872, the Endowed Institutions (Scotland) Act was passed in 1878. This Act gave authority to governing bodies to obtain Provisional Orders for the better application of the funds of educational endowments. In 1882 the Educational Endowments (Scotland) Act constituted the Balfour Commission with compulsory powers to settle the endowments. In 1885 the governors of the Heriot Hospital obtained power to discontinue the elementary schools associated with the foundation and to establish George Heriot's Hospital School in the hospital building. This was extended and the governors established, with the Watt Institution and School of Art, the Heriot-Watt College to provide higher and technical education on the lines of the Technical College in Glasgow.

This sketch of the Heriot foundation has been given in some detail as an example of one of the largest Scottish endowed institutions. The burgh schools were very meagrely endowed. The Argyll Commission revealed that in 1868, 19 burgh schools out of 29 possessed no 'endowment, and the remainder had together £1400. The town councils contributed from the Common Good annual payments towards the maintenance of the schools, which in the same year amounted to £5600. The Edinburgh High School had one of the largest endowments, £513. At this time the endowments of Eton were £20,569 from landed property, the gift of

¹ The architect is reported to have been Inigo Jones, and Archbishop Laud took great interest in the progress of the building. When it was partially completed, it was used by Cromwell in 1650 for accommodating the sick and wounded after the battle of Dunbar.

² In 1854, Dr. F. W. Bedford, Headmaster of Leeds Boys' Modern School, was appointed Headmaster of Heriot's Hospital and Inspector of the Heriot Foundation Schools.

37 livings worth £10,000 a year, and a probable additional income from lands of £10,000 a year. The Commissioners also drew attention to the fact that the foundations of Eton and Winchester alone were producing a greater revenue than all the burgh schools and universities of Scotland taken together. The lack of endowments meant that the Scottish schools were almost entirely dependent on the grants of the town councils and on fees.

The problems of Scottish education were investigated by the Argyll Commission which reported in 1867. The Commissioners inquired into all types of schools in Scotland and thus the inquiry corresponded "to the Newcastle, Clarendon, and Taunton Commissions rolled into one," as Graham Balfour puts it.¹ The Taunton Commission was sitting in England at the same time and Mr. Fearon was sent to Scotland to investigate conditions in the burgh schools and compare them with English grammar schools.

The conclusions of the Argyll Commission as regards elementary education were somewhat similar to those of the Newcastle Commission in England and were characterised by the same note of optimism. In the *Second Report* (elementary schools) the Commissioners drew attention to the deficiencies they had discovered. In the rural districts only 1133 schools were parish schools out of 4451. The remainder were proprietary and private adventure schools, many of which were hopelessly inefficient. (Pp. clxxiv to clxxvi.)

The Minutes of the Committee of Council containing the reports of H.M.I.'s show that these schools were very similar to the type existing in England, *e.g.* "It is difficult to give any adequate notion of the character and condition of most of the adventure School-houses. These Schools are generally taught in apartments of a dwelling-house. The dimensions are contracted; there are no proper means of ventilation; the floor is generally earthen and damp; the walls are frequently unplastered and dirty; the forms and desks are of the poorest description, and frequently incapable of accommodating all the pupils. Little attention is given to neatness and cleanliness of the apartment; the furniture is seldom tastefully and conveniently arranged." (*Minutes*, 1842-43, p. 689.) "These Schools are generally held in small ill-ventilated apartments,

¹ Graham Balfour. *Educational System of Great Britain and Ireland*, p. 136, Clarendon Press, 1898.

unfurnished with the necessary apparatus. The course of instruction includes nothing but reading, writing, and arithmetic; and these are most imperfectly taught. Neither the general character, nor the training and attainments of the teachers, fit them for the discharge of such important duties. . . . The fees were generally paid weekly. This arrangement has been rendered necessary by the improvident habits, by the ignorance or the indifference, by the dissoluteness or the poverty of the parents." (*Minutes*, 1844, vol. ii, p. 326.)

The Commissioners found that most of the schools were in charge of women. The men teachers had often been "parochial teachers at some time, dismissed or superannuated, or they laboured under some physical infirmity, lame of leg, or of an arm, or, as in one case, lame of both legs, or paralysed, or hopelessly crippled, and in the few instances where they were physically competent to teach, they generally had other pursuits to follow." (P. xxxvii) Their general conclusion was that "for the sake of all concerned, teachers and taught alike, the sooner private adventure schools for the lowest classes ceased to exist the better." (P. li.) These extracts should be compared with similar ones from the Newcastle Commission given in Chapter VI.

The Commission considered that the parochial school system of Scotland was now no longer adequate; there was lack of organisation and supervision by a competent authority and the only remedy was for the Education Department to take control of the parish schools, and then to fill the gaps by rate-aided schools. It was thought that this could be accomplished by a 2d. rate in rural districts and a 2½d. rate in Glasgow and the large towns.

In the *Third Report*, which dealt with the burgh and middle class schools, the Commissioners thought that on the whole secondary education was in a satisfactory condition, but that it required and was capable of amendment. (P. xviii.) They found that 33 burgh schools existed, 23 academies, and 31 parochial schools which carried out the functions of burgh schools. These were satisfactorily distributed so that only three burghs, Kinghorn, Oban, and Portobello, were without secondary schools. In addition there were a number of private schools, some being day schools such as the Edinburgh Institution, some boarding schools such as Loretto, and others day and boarding schools such as the Aberdeen Gymnasium. Altogether 15,946

scholars were on the roll of these schools and nearly 90 per cent. were in attendance, and the schools provided instruction for more than two-thirds of the Scottish middle class population. This represented a proportion of 1 in 205 receiving secondary education, as compared with 1 in 249 in Prussia, 1 in 570 in France, and 1 in 1300 in England. (P. viii.) The slender endowments of Scottish secondary schools has already been mentioned, so that the sum of £42,000 per annum was paid in fees by the parents. (P. xvi.) The prevalence of mixed schools was noted and the Commissioners gave their opinion that "the influence of Mixed schools of boys and girls is not beneficial from a social point of view; but, intellectually speaking, there is a good deal to recommend in such schools. There seems to be no reason why girls should not have the same educational advantages as boys, as they appear to make quite as much of what opportunities they have, and in some branches they are distinctly superior to the boys. If they are taught on the same system, and by the same masters, they should have distinct schoolrooms, and be kept separate from the boys, and under their own lady-superintendent." (P. xiii.) The mid 19th century point of view is very apparent in this passage ¹

Pupils came very early to school and left very early. About 56 per cent. were under twelve and 16 per cent. under eight years of age. In the private schools, pupils came later and remained later. Scholars were extremely hard worked and the Commissioners reckoned that they put in twice the number of hours per week as the pupils at Eton and Winchester. The average worked out at nine hours a day for a five-day week. The Commissioners were of opinion that a good deal of confusion existed as regards the curriculum. In some schools the subjects of instruction were elementary, in others definitely beyond that standard, and that in others, a mixture of both. The curriculum varied considerably in different parts of Scotland. "Parents look upon education as a means to an immediate end. The great object is to get a lad placed in some situation in which he will gain pecuniary benefit, and keep himself at as early an age as possible. If he can do this by means of classics, as at Aberdeen, they will teach him classics; if by writing, they will teach him writing. If, along with his writing, he can pick up a little Latin and a little French, so much the better, but it is not essential.

¹ Compare this statement with that of Mr. Fearon which is quoted later

This is the view of education which is adopted by parents of the middle class in Scotland; and those subjects of instruction which conduce to this end are most appreciated by them" (P. 116.)

The introduction of the Revised Code was not recommended since "the teachers will be compelled to bring their inferior scholars up to the standards required by the Code, and so will have little time to devote to the higher branches. . . It is of vital importance that every encouragement should be given to that class of young men who, since the foundation of the Parish schools, have risen to eminence through their medium. The number of distinguished men who have risen up in Scotland through these schools and our universities has long been the glory of this country and the wonder and envy of other countries, and it would be a matter of infinite regret if this national feature were to be obliterated." (P. 146.)

They therefore recommended the foundation of District or Supplementary Schools, and a scholarship system to these schools and to the universities to complete the system and so enable scholars of ability to proceed from the elementary schools to a university career. In addition it was recommended that Treasury grants should be given to parish schools where the schoolmaster carried out the function of a burgh schoolmaster in giving higher education to his pupils. The link between the parochial, the burgh schools and the university was so essential a feature of Scottish education that it should be maintained, supplemented, and strengthened

Other recommendations were that the Committee of Council should devise a scheme for the superannuation of schoolmasters, make grants for building, extensions, and repairs, subject to a report from H.M.I., that the tenure of the schoolmaster *ad vitam aut culpam* should be placed on a more explicit basis, and that, apart from these recommendations, no further grants should be made nor any other alterations in the management or superintendence of burgh schools. Finally, the statutes and rules of hospital foundations should be examined, and with the approval of Parliament, alterations with a view to the extension of education should be made.

The Commissioners spoke highly of the private schools which catered for the middle classes and which should not be confused with the "wretched seminaries" for the elementary education which had been roundly condemned in the *Second Report*. One of the reasons given for their efficiency was that most of the teachers had

been trained in normal colleges. Also, they were not afraid of publicity but threw open their doors to teachers and parents. These schools filled an important place in the national scheme by supplementing the education given in the burgh schools. The standard of the private schools in Edinburgh was exceptionally high and it was noted that they had separate departments for girls which carried education to a higher point than the boys' departments. This was because the boys were transferred at about the age of eleven to the High School and Academy, but the girls remained until about fourteen or fifteen years of age. The Edinburgh Institution was described in detail in the Special Reports of the Commissioners. (Pp. 313-18.) The school had accommodation for 949 scholars and its fees were moderate. The staff was highly qualified and the object of the instruction was the preparation of the pupils for university entrance, the professions, and business appointments. The general report on the school was that a very good liberal education was supplied at a moderate cost and that there was a sensible earnestness about the teachers and scholars that could not fail to have good results. Similar schools existed in other large towns, *e.g.* the Gymnasium, Old Aberdeen, and Fordyce Academy, Banff. The prospectus of a typical private academy in Edinburgh in 1856 is printed on the opposite page.¹

¹ The following extracts throw some light upon conditions in Scottish schools during this period.

(1) Extract from a letter of Mr. T. Christie describing the John Watson's Institution to a friend in England, October 30th, 1855

"Before leaving Scotland I was appointed to the post which I at present hold in John Watson's Institution. It is only an assistantcy, salary £50 besides Bed, board and washing, but such Board as would cost me I should think £50 a year. . . . A few words now as to our School. It numbers 58 boys and nearly 50 girls, both being taught together. We are not at a loss for room, having no fewer than six schoolrooms, besides a chapel capable of holding 6 or 8 hundred, where I have very often to read and pray. There are three resident male teachers, besides visiting Masters for vocal, and instrumental music and dancing. I am sorry to say that the scholars are in a very low educational condition. The new set of teachers, I think, are bringing about a change for the better."

(2) Extract from letter of Dr. Bedford in reply to a teacher seeking a post in Scotland.

"George Heriot's Hospital,
Edinburgh.
March 20th, 1855.

"... Parochial teachers in Scotland are very heavily worked, I hear, but Mr. Christie knows more about them than I do. Many clever young men are glad to get some 50£ or 60£ a year. In a letter which I wrote . . . yesterday I stated that *good* educational appointments are rare in Scotland. I think Mr. Christie will support me in that opinion. . . .

"F. W. BEDFORD."

ENGLISH, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, &c.

MR CHRISTIE will open advanced Classes for ENGLISH, &c , at 12 QUEEN STREET, *on Monday, 3d March.*

The Young Gentlemen will meet from 9 till 11 o'clock, and the Young Ladies from 1 till 3 o'clock. Fee, 15s per Quarter.

Extract from Testimonial in Mr CHRISTIE's favour from Dr BEDFORD, House Governor of Heriot's Hospital :—

"For four years Mr CHRISTIE was one of my most valued Colleagues, when I was Head Master of the Schools with which he is now connected.

"As a Gentleman, a Christian, a Scholar, and a Teacher, he stood very high in my estimation.

"I have seldom observed Classes so well conducted, and maintaining so superior a tone, as those under Mr CHRISTIE's tuition."

WRITING, ARITHMETIC, BOOK-KEEPING, & ALGEBRA.

MR WATSON will resume his MORNING CLASSES at 12 QUEEN STREET, from 7 till 8, *on Monday, 3d March.* Other Classes from 11 till 1, and from 3 till 5 o'clock

THE LADIES AND GENTLEMEN ARE TAUGHT IN SEPARATE ROOMS.

The next General Quarter Day being *on Saturday 1st March,* Mr WATSON and Mr CHRISTIE will be in attendance at the Class Rooms from 11 till 3 o'clock, to answer enquiries, enrol Pupils, and receive Fees

Specimens of Penmanship by Mr WATSON's Pupils will be exhibited.

Classes for LATIN, FRENCH, GERMAN, DRAWING, PIANOFORTE, NEEDLEWORK, &c., at different hours, to suit Pupils attending other Classes.

QUEEN STREET ACADEMY,

February 26, 1856.

Mr. Fearon's report is interesting since he had been appointed as Assistant Commissioner under the Taunton Commission investigating conditions in the English endowed schools and from his experience he was well qualified to draw a comparison between them and the Scottish secondary schools of the period. He thought that the English endowed schools made poor showing in comparison with the Scottish burgh schools. At the conclusion of his report he asked, "Why are these nine Scotch burgh schools so well attended? And why is such good work done in most of them? Because they are constantly stimulated from without. Public feeling, public demand for the things which they produce, make them work; and public interest in the result of their work helps to make that result successful. . . . The mere fact, for example, that 390 children are attending as day scholars at the burgh school of Ayr, a town with less than the population of Reading or Canterbury, is in itself, irrespectively of the quality of the education afforded in that burgh school, a most healthy symptom. Where in England could we produce such an instance of interest and confidence in a public school among the middle classes of our rural population?"¹ His advice concerning English secondary schools was, "Let the grammar schools, like the Scotch burgh schools, assimilate themselves to public requirements; popularise their education, and condescend to consider things as they are, as a first practical step towards making things as they should be."²

Earlier in his report, Mr. Fearon contrasted the work of the Scottish burgh school with that of the English grammar school in a passage which is well worth quoting in full. "I wish that I could picture to the Commissioners the interior of such an English grammar school as I have often seen it both in town and country at about 3 o'clock p.m. The long room empty or vacant in the middle, with the massive old fashioned desks ranged round the walls. The three seats for the teachers, carefully graduated in size; the largest and most imposing for the master at the top of the room; the second at the bottom for the usher; and at one side a smaller desk, inferior in comfort and dignity, for the occasional French master. The 30 boys divided nominally into six forms, of which the sixth contains two or three boys, boarders, who are reading 'Greek Play,' and one of whom is said to be preparing to try for an open scholarship at the university. The fifth form perhaps, 'vacant just at present,' and the bulk of the

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. VI, p. 60.

² *Ibid.*, p. 61.

scholars in the lower forms classified according to their different degrees. The master well clothed and fed, lounging in his chair of state, 'hearing the sixth form,' who sit or lean round him, in every variety of posture that can indicate indifference and weariness. The usher, an ignorant untrained drudge . . . wearing the listless and depressed look of one who has known or has been vainly hoping for better days. The whole scene one of sleepy monotonous existence; resembling rather a gathering of priests and worshippers of Morpheus than the Muses.

"And the contrast between such a scene, and that presented by the class-room of a Scotch burgh school; crowded with 60 or 100 boys *and girls*, all nearly of an age, seated in rows at desks or benches, but all placed in the order of merit, with their keen thoughtful faces turned towards the master, watching his every look and every gesture, in the hopes of winning a place in the class, and having good news to bring home to their parents at tea time. The *dux* seated at the head of the class, wearing perhaps a medal; the object of envy and yet pride to all his fellows; fully conscious both of the glory and the insecurity of his position, and taught, by experience of many falls, the danger of relaxing his efforts for one moment. In front of this eager animated throng, stands the master, gaunt, muscular, and time-worn, poorly clad, and plain in manner and speech, but with the dignity of a ruler in his gestures and the fire of an enthusiast in his eye, never sitting down, but standing always in some commanding position before the class; full of movement, vigour, and energy; so thoroughly versed in his author or his subject that he seldom requires to look at the text-book, which is open in his left hand, while in his right he holds the chalk or the pointer, ever ready to illustrate from map or blackboard, or perhaps flourishes the ancient 'taws' with which in former days he used to reduce disorderly newcomers to discipline and order. The whole scene is one of vigorous action and masterly force, forming the greatest possible contrast with the monotonous, unmethodical, ill-seconded working of the English teacher." ¹

Mr. Fearon did not agree with the Argyll Commission's opinion on mixed schools. He was convinced that "the presence of the girls both civilises and stimulates the boys, and that the opportunity of working with the boys strengthens the judgment and braces the mental faculties of the girls." ²

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. VI, pp 51-2.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

The reports were submitted to Parliament and after two unsuccessful attempts, in 1869 and 1871, to secure an Education Act, Lord Advocate Young succeeded in obtaining the passage of the momentous Act of 1872. The authors of the Act had before them the lessons of the English Elementary Education Act of 1870, and they were determined to produce an enactment of a more thorough and comprehensive nature. Hence the Act of 1872 was concerned with Scottish education as a whole and not merely elementary education. The Act was so great a milestone in Scottish educational progress and marked so fully the distinction between the old and the new, that its consideration is postponed to the chapter dealing with the modern period in Scottish education.

During the 17th century, the universities suffered greatly from the disturbed state of the country due to the continual strife between the Presbyterians and the Episcopalians. It speaks much for the keen interest in higher education of the nation as a whole, that they were able to continue their existence and identity. The outstanding figure in connection with the universities of this period is Bishop Forbes, who in the early part of the 17th century did much to encourage the development of Aberdeen. He established the chair of theology in 1620, to which his son was appointed, and he gathered round him the famous group of scholars and divines known as the Six Aberdeen Doctors.

To understand the Scottish universities at this time, we must realise that they were to a much greater extent the universities of the people than were those of England. As Graham Balfour said, the university system of Scotland differed at almost every point from the universities of England. However, they were similar to the English universities in one respect: they reached their lowest position during the latter part of the 17th and the first half of the 18th century. The invigorating spirit of the Renaissance and Reformation had exhausted itself and there was a general retrograde movement towards mediaevalism. The Faculty of Arts dominated the universities, and other Faculties such as Law, Medicine, and Theology, had to be content with a subordinate position. The practice of regenting became universal and continued through the first half of the 18th century.

Each regent taught his students during a course of three or four years, Greek, ethics, pneumatics,¹ logic, mathematics, and

¹ This study was combined with philosophy and dealt with the nature of angels, of the human soul, and the being and attributes of God.

physics. The regenting system first came to an end at Edinburgh in 1708. At Glasgow it was abolished in 1727, at St. Andrews in 1747, but although Marischal College abandoned it in 1757, it was retained at King's College until the end of the century.

The burgh schools were justly proud of their Latinity but at the universities the standards in Greek and Latin were very low and there was no professor of Latin until the beginning of the 18th century. The first professor of Latin (Humanity) was inducted at Glasgow in 1704 at a salary of £20 per annum. The special chair of Latin at Edinburgh dates from 1708. The opposition to the teaching of Latin in the universities came from the burgh schools, whose masters thought it would lessen the number of their pupils, and, therefore, their fees.

The teaching in those days cannot have been much more advanced than that given at the grammar schools. This is evident from the early age at which many students entered. Thomas Reid was twelve when he entered Marischal College and Dr Chalmers became a student of St. Andrews at an even earlier age. As late as 1830, the Royal Commission reported students as young as eleven at Aberdeen and the average age of entrants at Edinburgh was fourteen and a half. There was no entrance examination, and the bulk of the students entered the universities without any intention of proceeding to a degree. They selected their own subject for study, and, provided the professor was willing to take them, they attended the course until it suited them to leave. Those who remained to graduate often did so at an age as early as sixteen. Many came to the university ignorant of Latin or Greek and elementary classes in these languages had to be started. All university lectures were dictated in Latin until 1729. In this year Professor Hutcheson of Glasgow broke away from tradition and began to deliver his lectures in English. His example was followed very slowly, and as late as 1776 a student who studied Church History of St. Andrews for three years, left on record that during the whole of that time he never heard one word of English from his professor. During the 17th century the university authorities encouraged students to live in chambers in the colleges, but this custom began to disappear later, partly owing to the increased number of students, which became too great to be accommodated in college, but more particularly because the majority of the students could not afford the moderate charges of the common table. "The great majority of the lads were extremely poor, and lived in mean

garrets in the wynds; some were so badly off that old Kirk-Session records mention little doles of a few pence given to lads to help them on their way as they travelled to college. When they went to their classes in October they often took with them a supply of oat and barley meal, which with occasional supplies from home, lasted by careful stinting till the Session was over in May."¹

If the majority of the students were poor, the salaries paid to the professors were also extremely small. The Principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen, received a salary of £60 per annum. The Principal of Edinburgh in 1703 received £90, but the Principal of Glasgow was given £60 a year and board at the common table. The four regents also shared the table and received a salary of £25 each. The professor of mathematics at King's College, Aberdeen, in the early part of the century, had an income of £10 and board at the common table. His salary was paid out of a tax levied on the ale sold in the town so that in his case, the teaching of mathematics to university students depended on the amount of beer consumed by the populace. Later in the century, the salaries of the teaching staffs were roughly doubled. In addition to his official salary, a professor received fees from his students, so that the total income of a professor teaching a large number of students might approximate to £150 a year. Professor Reid, in 1764, as professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow, received a salary of £50. He wrote, "I have touched £70 in fees, and may possibly make out the hundred this session." The cost of living was low, otherwise it would have been impossible for any professor to live on his salary. Small wonder, then, that a university chair was sought mainly as a stepping stone to a more lucrative appointment in the Church or as a private tutor to the son of a nobleman.²

¹ H. G. Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 456.

² J. Grant, in *History of the Burgh and Parish Schools in Scotland*, gives in an appendix many examples of the salaries and fees paid in the schools. Thus at Edinburgh in 1562, the Master received £80 yearly and fees—"so large a salary is given because of the great profit of his school in London, and being very learned in Greek and Latin." But in 1835 the Rector's salary was £33 6s. 8d. and each of the four classical masters received £20. The teachers of writing, arithmetic and mathematics had no salary and depended entirely on fees. Kirkcudbright, which may be taken as an example of a school in a smaller burgh, paid its master £30 in 1787. His assistant received £10. In 1788 the writing and mathematical master received £20 and the following fees from each pupil taking the subject: English, 2s. 6d.; Latin, 2s. 6d.; writing and arithmetic, 1s. 6d.; first six books of Euclid, practical geometry and plane trigonometry, 15s.; navigation, 15s.; geometry, 10s. 6d., book-keeping, 15s. These fees applied to burghesses' children only. Others paid higher fees.

The condition of the universities slowly improved during the 18th century, which was one of the most brilliant periods in the history of the intellectual life of Scotland. One has to recall such names as Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Thomas Reid, Adam Smith, James Beattie, Principal Robertson, and many others of European reputation, to realise that in spite of the adverse conditions there was a strong intellectual life in the Scottish universities. A change parallel to that in the burgh schools was taking place. The dominance of the Arts Faculty was challenged and theology, law, science, and medicine came into their own. The progress of the last-named study was remarkable.

In the early days of the universities, both at Edinburgh and at Glasgow, the medical profession was associated with the barbers, *e.g.* the Incorporation of Surgeons and Barbers in Edinburgh and the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow, which included barbers. The barbers not only cut hair but cut veins and arteries in the process of bleeding a person. Hence it was necessary for them to have some understanding of the body. The physicians and surgeons despised their more humble brethren and during the 17th century the doctors and the barbers tended to fall apart, and finally in 1727 the two crafts separated. The red and blue stripes on the barber's pole are a reminder of the close association between surgeons and barbers; the red stripes representing arterial blood and the blue that from the veins.

From this date the medical schools of Glasgow and Edinburgh developed rapidly and thanks to a succession of eminent teachers they obtained a well-earned reputation. In 1824 a dispute arose in the University of Edinburgh over the introduction of midwifery as a subject for graduation in the Medical Faculty. The Senate objected to its introduction but the town council, who were the legal masters of the college, insisted. They proposed a visitation of the college and this caused the Senate to petition for a Royal Commission, which was appointed in 1826 and took for its field all the Scottish universities. The recommendations of the Commission did not receive immediate attention and it was not until 1858 that the University Act was passed.

The Act reconstructed the government of the universities. Previously the governing body of a university had been the Senate, which consisted of the professors, who were both the teachers and the governors of their institution. The Act created two new bodies, the University Court and the General Council.

Thus in Edinburgh, the former consisted of the Rector, the Principal (in Edinburgh, the Lord Provost; in Glasgow, the Dean of Faculties), and four Assessors. The Court appointed the professors, except those nominated by the Crown, and was responsible for the revenues, the regulation of fees, and the internal arrangements of the university. The Council was a larger body consisting of the Chancellor, the members of the Court, the professors and graduates. Its meeting took place twice yearly and it discussed measures which had been approved by the Senate or the Court. The Senate still retained considerable power, especially in matters concerned with instruction.

The effects of the Act were soon apparent. The basis of the government of the universities had been broadened and the inclusion of the graduates on the Council had considerable influence in bringing university studies into line with the demands of the outside world. The net result was a large increase of both students and graduates. The salaries of the professors were increased and opportunities were given for bringing in lecturers to assist the professors.

Edinburgh, as the original cause of the Royal Commission, received special treatment. The patronage, which had been in the hands of the town council, was now transferred to seven curators, four nominated by the town council and three by the University Court. The Rector was to be elected by the students and the Chancellor by the graduates and the General Council. To carry out the provisions of the Act, an executive commission was appointed with Lord Justice Clerk Inglis as chairman.

The commission abolished the degree of B.A. and substituted the M.A. as the first degree, to be taken in three stages. Seven subjects were obligatory for the ordinary course in Arts: Latin, Greek, mathematics, natural philosophy, logic, moral philosophy, and rhetoric. Honours might be taken in one of four departments: Classics, philosophy, mathematics, or science (geology, zoology, and chemistry). In the first three there were two classes of honours, but only one in science. English literature was included under philosophy. Graduates were qualified to become members of the General Council. The elementary classes in Latin and Greek, instituted as a concession in the 18th century to students who were without classical scholarship, were continued as a provisional measure. It was not considered advisable to break the link with the parochial schools in virtue of which bright pupils might pass

direct to the university. In pursuance of this policy, the commission did not insist upon the establishment of an entrance examination at the time, but, when secondary education had been reorganised, a Preliminary Examination for university entrance was enforced in 1892.

In conclusion, one very important development should be mentioned. The Andrew Bell Trustees, from 1830 onwards, had been granting money for the building of schools, but after the Education Act of 1872 they found themselves with a surplus of £18,000. With this money they endowed chairs in the History, Theory and Practice of Education at Edinburgh and St. Andrews in 1876. These were the first chairs in education to be established in Great Britain. The first Professor of Education at Edinburgh was S. S. Laurie who in his long life contributed much to the university and to the cause of education in general.

CHAPTER X

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL SYSTEM 1902-1944

The main educational problem during the period which began in 1870 and culminated in the Education Act of 1902, had been that of providing sufficient elementary school places for the child population and seeing that they were filled. In the period 1902 to 1944, the centre of interest shifted to secondary education. During the last decade of the 19th century, two well-marked tendencies had been operative; the school-leaving age had gradually risen and experiments had been carried out in the provision of new types of post-primary schools (higher grade, higher elementary). So far little had been done to improve either the quantity or the quality of secondary education given in endowed schools. The number of pupils attending these schools has been estimated at about 30,000 in 1895. A small proportion of elementary school children had, by means of scholarships, entered the secondary schools; about 2500 in 1894 and 5000 in 1900. Most of these scholarships were offered by local government authorities using the powers given them by the Technical Instruction Act of 1889 and the Local Taxation Act of 1890. Secondary education was still regarded as something quite distinct from elementary education, even though the emphasis on class distinctions was not quite so sharp as formerly.

The first step in the expansion of secondary education was to make more schools available. In 1903 many of the former higher grade schools and pupil-teacher centres were taken over by the new local education authorities. When they had been under the control of the School Boards, these schools had qualified for the grants of the Science and Art Department and as a consequence had developed a curriculum with a decided scientific bias in contrast with the classical and linguistic studies of the endowed schools. Unfortunately, the Board of Education, influenced by Morant, in looking for a model for the new secondary schools of the future, decided that the public schools and the traditional grammar schools supplied what was needed. Hence, the experience gained during the previous 20 years in regard to curriculum and teaching methods was largely ignored. In the *Regulations for Secondary Schools*, 1904, the Board

attempted a definition of a secondary school. Curiously enough, the only definition of an elementary school had been that given in the Act of 1870, where it was described as a school in which elementary education was the principal part of the education given and the fees did not exceed 9d. per week. In the Act of 1902, secondary and technical education was referred to as "education other than elementary." In the 1904 Regulations a secondary school was defined as "a Day or Boarding School offering to each of its scholars up to and beyond the age of sixteen, a general education, physical, mental, and moral, given through a complete graded course of instruction, of wider scope and more advanced degree than that given in Elementary Schools." In the absence of a clear definition of an elementary school and the aims and purposes of elementary education, the above does not offer a great deal of guidance in regard to the secondary school, but when the content of secondary education is examined, it is soon apparent that the new schools were conceived along traditional lines.

The Regulations stated that to achieve a sound general education a secondary school must offer a four-year course at least, in certain groups of subjects. These were: (1) English language and literature, with geography and history; (2) at least one language other than English; (3) mathematics and science, both theoretical and practical; and (4) drawing. Girls were to receive a training in practical housewifery, and both boys and girls were to take some kind of manual work and physical exercises. The influence of tradition is clearly seen in the following paragraph, "Where two languages other than English are taken, and Latin is not one of them, the Board will require to be satisfied that the omission of Latin is for the advantage of the school." Thus, from the start, the secondary course was planned according to the needs of the minority who were eventually entering either the university or one of the professions and it proved a difficult task, and one not by any means fully accomplished even now, to shake off this tradition. Indeed, the recognition of a secondary grammar type of school by the Act of 1944, tends to perpetuate the tradition for a large number of pupils. This kind of school has done valuable work in the past and still has a very important function in the future, but a more realistic and practical approach to its studies would prove an inestimable boon even to those of its scholars who have a university career in view. The description of Sanderson's work at Oundle

given later in this chapter, shows what may be accomplished successfully without any loss in the standard of scholarship.

The Spens Report indicates two other errors: an unreal and unnecessary division was introduced between secondary and technical education (the Bryce Commission had emphasised that in a sense all secondary education is technical), and a confusion in the meaning given to the term "general education." The latter reflected the influence of the now discarded "faculty psychology" in which Morant was a firm believer. Finally, the school course was graded according to the demands of the subject-matter rather than being based upon the needs, abilities, interests, and outlook, of the pupils at different stages of their development. The schools themselves at first showed little inclination to depart from the academic tradition and the introduction of the School Certificate Examination in 1917 which gave, under certain conditions, exemption from Matriculation, tended, in spite of its many obvious advantages, to confirm them in their view.

Morant was much happier in his dealings with the elementary school and the *Code for Public Elementary Schools* in 1904 struck an entirely new note. The Introduction was written by Morant himself and shows that he had thought deeply and to good purpose. The introduction is too lengthy to quote in full, but the opening paragraph shows a completely fresh conception of the meaning of elementary education. "The purpose of the Public Elementary School is to form and strengthen the character and to develop the intelligence of the children entrusted to it, and to make the best use of the school years available, in assisting both boys and girls, according to their different needs, to fit themselves, practically as well as intellectually, for the work of life." Morant followed its publication by issuing new Regulations for Training Colleges and for Evening Schools and Technical Institutes. In the former he described his ideal of the elementary school teacher and the influence he should have. "The influence of a body of thoroughly competent, zealous, and conscientious teachers in our Public Elementary Schools may plainly be an immensely important factor in our national life, and, apart from their professional work, the teachers as a body of well-educated men and women may render services, out of all proportion to their number in the population, in the performance of the common duties of citizenship." The truth of these words was exemplified in 1939, when the teachers of both elementary and secondary schools, by their efforts and their high

sense of public service, saved the evacuation scheme from the chaos into which it was falling.

Apart from efforts, already described, to secure the repeal of the Act of 1902, the events of the first five years were not spectacular. All the partners in the work of education were new and had to learn their job and get to know each other. The Board of Education soon realised the limitations of its powers and chose the path of leading rather than dictating. The new L.E.A.'s got down to the business of surveying their areas and preparing schemes to remedy deficiencies, and the managers of the non-provided and endowed schools took their responsibilities seriously and did much to improve the schools under their charge. Sir Michael Sadler, who was then Professor of the History and Administration of Education in the Victoria University of Manchester, rendered most valuable service in gathering detailed information concerning the progress of education in six large boroughs and three counties.

The General Election of 1906, which was a great land-slide in favour of the Liberals, for the first time brought 40 members of the Labour party into Parliament. With their assistance, the Education (Provision of Meals) Act was passed, which empowered L.E.A.'s to arrange for the feeding of those school children whose education was suffering because of lack of food. Where the parent was able to pay, a moderate charge was made, but in cases where the parent could not afford the cost, the L.E.A. could meet the expense by levying a rate not exceeding $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the £. The following year Mr. McKenna's Education (Administration Provisions) Act introduced some very important changes.

(1) The Act empowered the L.E.A.'s "to make such arrangements as may be sanctioned by the Board of Education for attending to the health and physical condition of children in Public Elementary Schools." Morant took immediate advantage of the opportunity given. He had always been a convinced believer in the importance of the physical development of the school child and in the Code of 1906 had introduced organised games. Using the powers conferred by the Act, he established a medical department and succeeded in obtaining the services of Mr. (later Sir) George Newman as the Chief Medical Officer to the Board of Education. Anyone who has read Sir George Newman's annual reports until he became Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health in 1919, will realise the wonderful work he accomplished through the school medical service. The Act of 1907 instituted a compulsory system of medical

inspection in elementary schools, but, so far, the parent was not obliged to carry out the recommendations of the school doctor.

(2) A clause in the Act empowered L.E.A.'s to acquire land compulsorily for the building of new secondary schools, and the raising of the secondary school grant to £5 per head encouraged the opening of new secondary schools. By 1910 there were 980 schools on the Board's grant lists.

(3) The provision for the establishment of a Teachers' Registration Council was referred to in Chapter VIII.

(4) Last, but perhaps most important, the Board's Regulations insisted that in all fee-paying secondary schools in receipt of grant, 25 per cent. of the admissions each year were to be free places for children from elementary schools. In order to maintain the standards and efficiency of the secondary schools, candidates for free places were to be selected on the result of an attainment test designed to discover whether they were able to profit by a secondary school education. This was the beginning of the "Scholarship Ladder to the University." In 1906, the number of scholarships was 23,500, of which 11,500 were for intending teachers. This number grew to 60,000 in 1913 and to 143,000 in 1927.

In 1911, the blow fell which deprived the Board of Education of the services of Sir Robert Morant. The circumstances were briefly as follows. Mr. E. Holmes was H.M.I. in the north of England in 1903 where he found that many of the conditions produced by the era of Payment by Results were still prevalent. Some of the inspectors of the local authorities were appointed from the ranks of elementary school teachers who had grown up during the period in which the Revised Code was in operation and who were cramped and narrow in their outlook upon school education. When Mr. Holmes was promoted to the Chief Inspectorship of elementary schools in 1905, he found that the conditions of the north of England were not confined to that region alone. In a private report to Morant, he expressed his views at some length. In his report the sentence occurred, "Apart from the fact that elementary school teachers are, as a rule, uncultured and imperfectly educated, and that many—if not most—of them are creatures of tradition and routine, there are special reasons why the bulk of the local inspectors in this country should be unequal to the discharge of their responsible duties." The report was placed at the bottom of a pile of memoranda on Morant's desk and by mistake he signed it, authorising publication. The Holmes Circular found its way into

outside hands, including those of Sir Samuel Hoare, who saw in it an opportunity for launching an attack on the Liberal Government. The N.U.T. quite naturally resented what they considered a slur on the teaching profession, and Dr. Clifford joined in with glee to crush his old enemy. There was no doubt about the issue. Morant and Holmes had to bear the brunt. The Government, however, were too conscious of the value of Morant's services to lose him, and he was offered, by Mr. Lloyd George in 1911, the appointment of Chairman of the National Health Insurance Commission. Mr. Holmes, on his retirement, wrote a book, much discussed at the time, *What Is and What Might Be*. The first part, "What is, or the Path of Mechanical Obedience," embodies much of his experience as an inspector.¹

The policy of the Board of Education before the First World War encouraged the developments already latent in the Act of 1902. It would have been a simple matter for the Board, following the routine of its predecessor, the Education Department, to have issued detailed instructions concerning the syllabus of the elementary school and the methods of teaching to be employed. Morant realised the value of encouraging teachers to display initiative and to experiment with new methods of teaching. In place of attempting to impose a set syllabus on all schools, he issued, in 1905, a *Handbook of Suggestions for the Consideration of Teachers and others engaged in the Work of Public Elementary Schools*. The title was a deliberate choice and although, from a present-day standpoint, much of the book would be considered out of date, based as it was upon a faculty psychology, yet its issue was momentous because for the first time it gave the teacher freedom to try to work out his job in his own way.² This purpose was distinctly stated in the Preface, "The only uniformity of practice that the Board of Education desire to see in the teaching of Public Elementary Schools is that each teacher shall think for himself, and work out for himself such methods of teaching as may use his

¹ Edmond Holmes. *What Is and What Might Be*, Constable, 1911.

² The influence of faculty psychology may be seen in such phrases as the following: "The process of teaching, therefore, involves a careful development of the faculties of the child"; "enforcement of attention and training of memory are among the essentials of education"; "in the lower classes teaching about common things will be directed mainly to cultivating exact observation. . . . In the higher classes . . . the main purpose of the lessons is to exercise the scholars in reflecting and reasoning upon the results of their own direct observation"; "the search for natural laws belongs to a later stage of mental discipline."

A comparison of the Suggestions of 1905 with those of 1937 will reveal a complete change of attitude.

powers to the best advantage and be best suited to the particular needs and conditions of the school. Uniformity in details of practice . . . is not desirable even if it were attainable. But freedom implies a corresponding responsibility in its use.

"Teachers who use the book should therefore treat it as an aid to reviewing their aims and practice, and as a challenge to independent thought on such matters "

The pupil-teacher system, even as amended by the establishment of pupil-teacher centres and the reduction of the period of apprenticeship to three years in 1900, had been subject to much criticism. The Board raised the minimum age for pupil-teachers to sixteen (fifteen in rural districts) and reduced the period of apprenticeship to two years. Pupil-teachers were required to spend at least half their time receiving instruction at a centre, which might be attached to a secondary or higher elementary school. This change was to ensure a more liberal education for the pupil-teacher and to prevent cramming for examinations. Any secondary school pupil who had received instruction in the school for not less than three years and wished to become a teacher, could claim a bursary for a year and then either serve for another year as a student teacher or pass direct to the training college. Many L.E.A.'s adopted the latter course and the numbers of pupil-teachers declined rapidly after 1907. The whole problem of intending teachers was raised again in 1923 when Lord Burnham's Committee gave the opinion that the normal means of entry to the profession should be through the secondary school. In urban districts, pupil-teacher centres should be abolished, but they might be allowed to continue provisionally in rural areas where no secondary school was available.

The Cockerton Judgment had revealed the illegal position occupied by higher grade schools and in order to legalise schools giving advanced forms of elementary education, the Board in a Minute for the year 1900 recognised the existence of higher elementary schools for pupils attending a four-year course between the ages of ten and fifteen. Such schools were the forerunners of the Central Schools established some years later. At this time the policy of the Board was to discourage the development of higher elementary schools and most L.E.A.'s preferred to experiment along other lines. Thus London, 1911, and Manchester, 1912, adopted the Central School system into which higher elementary schools were absorbed. The central school provided a full-time general

education for pupils up to the age of fifteen with the object of enabling them to enter trade and industry immediately after leaving school without the necessity of undergoing any additional course of training. The curriculum of the central school had a commercial or industrial bias without being technical in the narrower sense. Some authorities preferred to develop Day Trade Schools or Junior Technical Schools

At the same time, experiments were being carried out with regard to the education of younger children. Although the Code of 1905 contained many progressive suggestions concerning the work of the infant school, the Board on the whole deprecated the attendance of children under five and left L.E.A.'s free to refuse them admittance. In 1907, the Consultative Committee was asked to investigate the problem of schools for children under five. In their report in 1908, the Committee submitted evidence from France, Germany, and Switzerland, and although they concluded that, on account of industrial and social conditions in various parts of England, nursery schools in such districts were a necessity, they did not think it advisable to change the lower limit of school attendance. No action was taken to carry out the proposals of the report until the Education Act of 1918, and nursery schools were not eligible for grant although grants were given to day nurseries in 1914. Meanwhile, nursery schools were opened by voluntary effort in several large towns. The best known example was the school established by the sisters Rachel and Margaret McMillan at Deptford in 1911, who may justly be regarded as the founders of the Nursery School movement. Progress had also taken place in infant school methods through a more intelligent use of the Froebelian conception of free activity and the introduction of individual occupations, due to the influence of Dr. Montessori.

These experiments were held up for four years by the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. As increasing numbers of men were needed for the Forces, the schools became gradually depleted of their men teachers. Some women teachers also obtained leave of absence to serve in nursing units or in the women's auxiliary services. As a consequence of under-staffing, classes became larger and many boys' schools were taught almost entirely by women teachers. Conscription was introduced in 1917 and all men under thirty-one and in medical categories A1 and B1 were called to the Colours. Teachers of a lower medical category who were on home service were released to take up their school duties again.

The severe fighting of 1917-18 stepped up the service demands so that all men in A1 category under forty-five and B1 men under thirty-six were called upon to serve. Approximately half the male teachers in the country were absent on war service. Retired teachers, married women who had previously been teachers, clergy, and others who had sufficient educational attainments, volunteered to teach in the schools during the emergency. Further dislocation was caused by the requisition of school premises as billets for the troops, and many schools had to use places of worship, Sunday Schools, and public halls, as school accommodation. Certain schools and colleges were used as hospitals or for the accommodation of refugee children from the Continent¹. It is idle to pretend that the efficiency of the schools did not suffer under these straits, but both teachers and scholars made a magnificent contribution to national service. The children assisted in the War Savings effort through the Elementary Schools Savings Associations. There had been a penny bank in connection with most schools for a large number of years. In School Board days a school bank had existed in Leeds since 1874. In 1891, the Leeds School Board entered into an arrangement with the Yorkshire Penny Bank whereby a bank was established in every school. Similar arrangements were working in most areas by the end of the century. The purpose of the school bank was to encourage the children in habits of regular savings. Pupils brought their contributions to school each Monday morning and accumulated deposits which could be drawn upon for holidays and in emergencies.

In Leeds in 1890, there were 9915 school accounts and the sum deposited from 1890 to 1926 amounted to £1,747,143 8s 10d. In 1916, War Savings Certificates were introduced and could be purchased through the school bank. During the war Leeds children bought Savings Certificates to the value of £52,233 9s. The War Savings Associations were continued as a permanency and thus were able to render valuable service once more during the Second World War.

During the war of 1914-18, encouragement was given to the establishment of school gardens and allotments, which produced valuable food at a time when supplies were restricted by submarine activities. Teachers and pupils collected wild fruits for jam, and horse-chestnuts which were used in the manufacture of anti-gas

¹ Thus in both World Wars the Leeds City Training College was used as a military hospital.

masks Through the Scouts and Guides, older children were able to perform some important public services. The shortage of food was so great towards the closing stages of the war that the Board allowed children of school age to be excused attendance for a limited period to assist in agricultural and other work. The absence of fathers on military service and of many mothers on munition work resulted in a relaxation of parental control and the growth of hooliganism and juvenile delinquency. The Government encouraged education authorities and voluntary associations in the establishment of play centres for children in order to keep them off the streets and out of mischief and to provide them with opportunities for organised play and healthy recreation.

Well before the conclusion of hostilities the Government had been giving serious thought to the work of post-war reconstruction and, in 1916, the Ministry of Reconstruction was constituted to prepare schemes for the transition from war to peace. Education occupied a prominent place in the deliberations of the Ministry because the war had revealed many of the inadequacies of the national system. When Mr. Lloyd George considered the time ripe for a reorganisation of national education, he decided to secure the services of a distinguished educationist as President of the Board of Education. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher, a distinguished Oxford historian who had been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield, was chosen for this position and given the services of a number of men who possessed expert educational knowledge and technical experience. For the first and only time in our history a professional educationist was given the opportunity of overhauling the national system and the results of his planning, as seen in the Education Act of 1918, justified the Prime Minister's choice.

The striking feature of the Act of 1918 was the attempt to place the onus of reconstruction on the local authorities and to rely on their public spirit and initiative to carry through the proposals in the way that was intended. Mr. Fisher had thought of increasing the powers of the Board of Education so that laggard and reluctant authorities could be compelled to put the Act into operation. At the same time he considered that some of the Part III authorities should be merged with the county councils. These proposals had appeared in the Bill of 1917, but they awakened so much opposition that Mr. Fisher did not consider it worth while imperilling the

acceptance of the measure by insisting on the administrative clauses. Thus the administrative framework of 1902 was retained, but the powers of the local authorities received a definite extension. Much of the legislation was permissive instead of being mandatory and therein lay the weakness. It was possible for certain educational services to be obligatory in one district and not in another; thus the provision of Continuation Schools was compulsory in the area of the London County Council but not in some of the surrounding districts. Barnard blames post-war financial stringency as the cause of the ineffectiveness of the main provisions of the Act.¹ The "Geddes Axe" is, however, only part of the story and the clean sweep it made was facilitated by administrative weaknesses in the Act itself. The powers of the L.E.A.'s had been augmented but those of the Board of Education remained as nebulous as before. Another weakness of the Act was that the dislocation caused by the war prevented its main clauses from coming into operation immediately. The reconstruction contemplated involved building a large number of new schools and obtaining an adequate supply of trained teachers suitable for the particular work they would be required to undertake. The author remembers being present at a discussion of officials of the Board where the main objects for consideration were the extent to which existing buildings could be improvised for continuation schools until new buildings were ready, and what potential supplies of teachers existed to carry on the work until a sufficient number of new entrants to the profession could be obtained and trained. He recollects well the enthusiastic spirit with which major difficulties were attacked and demolished. The fact remained, however, that the dates on which the various clauses of the Act would come into operation could not be stated.

The purpose of the Act as given in its opening clause was to establish a national system of education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby. Hence, "It shall be the duty of the council of every county and county borough, so far as their powers extend, to contribute thereto by providing for the progressive development and comprehensive organisation of education in respect of their area, and with that object any such council from time to time may, and shall when required by the Board of Education,

¹ H. C. Barnard. *A Short History of English Education, 1760-1944*, p. 274, University of London Press, 1947.

submit to the Board schemes showing the mode in which their duties and powers under the Education Acts are to be performed and exercised, whether separately or in co-operation with other authorities" (Clause 1). The L.E.A.'s were directed to use the powers conferred on them by the Act of 1902, to provide by means of central schools or classes, practical instruction suitable to the ages, abilities, and requirements of the children and to organise advanced instruction for the older and more intelligent pupils who remained at school after the age of fourteen; to provide for adequate attention being given to the health and physical condition of children attending public elementary schools, and to co-operate with other authorities with regard to the preparation of children for further education in schools other than elementary and their transference at suitable ages to these schools, and to make arrangements for the supply and training of teachers.

It was evident that the term "elementary education" was becoming obsolete, since to avoid the repetition of anything resembling the Cockerton Judgment, the definition of the elementary school as given in the Act of 1870 was not to apply to the above advanced courses of instruction.

The period of compulsory full-time attendance at school was to be from the age of five to fourteen. A pupil could not leave school until the last day of the term in which his fourteenth birthday occurred. A local authority had the power to enact a bye-law to raise the school-leaving age to fifteen. The system of "half-timers," which had been gradually disappearing, was to be abolished from July 1st, 1922.¹

Pupils who left school at the age of fourteen would be required to attend a continuation school for 320 hours in each year. The distribution of the hours was left to the discretion of the local authorities, who would have regard to the circumstances of the district. Thus it might be convenient in an urban district for pupils to attend for one whole day or two half-days a week but in a rural area, a block attendance of several weeks at a time might be desirable. L.E.A.'s would be required to submit to the Board schemes for the progressive organisation of a system of continuation schools in their areas. Pupils in full-time attendance at

¹ Half-time scholars in Leeds numbered 1264 in 1860. The number had fallen progressively: in 1890 there were 846, in 1900, 61; in 1902, 44; and in 1915 there were only five.

secondary or technical schools were exempt from this part of the Act, provided they remained at school until sixteen and passed Matriculation or an equivalent examination. For the first seven years after this part of the Act came into operation, attendance at a continuation school would be required until sixteen years of age, but after that period compulsory attendance would be extended to eighteen. All fees in elementary schools were abolished.

The Act amended the law in regard to the employment of children. No child under twelve could be employed and the employment of those over twelve was limited to two hours on Sundays, and on school days a child could not be employed before the close of school, nor on any day before six o'clock in the morning, nor after eight o'clock in the evening. Local authorities were empowered to enact bye-laws permitting children over twelve to be employed on a school day before 9 a.m. for one hour, provided also that the same child should not be employed for more than one hour in the afternoon. In many towns the bye-law enabled newsagents to employ children for the delivery of the morning papers. No child of school age was permitted to be employed in factories, mines, or in street trading. This clause put an end to the selling of newspapers by boys in the streets. Children might be employed to take part in entertainments, *e.g.* in a pantomime, under a licence issued by the L.E.A. The powers and duties of L.E.A.'s were extended with regard to the provision of facilities for physical training and organised games, holiday camps, and facilities for social and physical training in the day or evening. In provided schools, medical inspection and treatment was extended to secondary pupils but was to be optional in aided schools. Permission was given to local authorities to open nursery schools or classes where they were necessary and desirable, and such schools, if open to inspection, would be able to receive a grant.

The Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children) Act of 1914 had made the provisions of the Act of 1899 obligatory. Accommodation was to be provided for mentally defective and epileptic children. The Act of 1918 extended this to include physically defective children. Many of the larger School Boards had offered this accommodation. Leeds, for example, had opened a school for mentally defective children in 1900, and a school for blind and deaf children had been opened in 1899. The latter was partly residential and had accommodation for 108 boarders and 100

day scholars. Specialist teachers were provided for the pupils, who remained at school until sixteen, when they were sent either to suitable employment or to centres for vocational training. A school for crippled children was opened in 1904 and, later, special classes for myopic children were established. Bradford had long been a pioneer in the school medical services and the provision of special schools. The first classes for the blind and deaf had been opened in 1885 and the special school for mental defectives in 1894. The schools for mentally defective children were centralised at the Margaret McMillan School in 1915.

Power was given to local authorities to pay maintenance grants to pupils holding scholarships at secondary schools, so that a child who had the ability to profit from a secondary education should not be held back through poverty. The Dual system was retained, but managers of non-provided schools might group them if they found it desirable. All private schools were to be registered and open to inspection by the Board and the L.E.A. The worst abuses of private adventure schools had disappeared largely through the progressive enlightenment of public opinion, but there still remained a number of private schools which were inadequate either as regards buildings or in the quality of the instruction they gave.

The system of grant payment to L.E.A.'s was entirely revised. In the 19th century, grants had been made for specific purposes or for specific subjects taught in the schools. The grant procedure had been simplified in 1902, but since that time the rapid increase of education expenditure had been throwing a heavy burden on the rates. Attempts had been made to remedy this by means of supplementary grants, but in 1918 all specific grants were abolished. A single block grant was paid to each education authority amounting to not less than one half of the net approved expenditure of the authority. This was deemed to have the effect of encouraging a progressive authority to go ahead with its schemes.

Mr. Fisher realised the importance of attracting to the teaching profession the right type of person. As long as the salaries of teachers were inadequate, people of ability and character would be attracted elsewhere. Some people had toyed with the idea of making teachers Civil Servants, but it was considered that the withdrawal of the control of teachers from the local authorities would destroy the whole framework of the system developed since 1902. Teaching had always been poorly remunerated as compared with

other professions, although the average salary of certificated teachers had been gradually improved.¹

The cost of living in 1918 was more than double that of 1914. There was no standard scale, and wealthy and progressive authorities by paying higher salaries were always able to attract the best qualified teachers. In secondary schools before 1914, graduate assistant masters might receive anything between £120 and £200 per annum, the latter figure being exceptional. The Board issued a minimum scale of salaries in 1917 and gave a supplementary grant for elementary education, the primary object of which was to improve the salaries of teachers. A departmental committee was set up to inquire into the principles of constructing salary scales. As a result of its report and of negotiations with the teachers' associations, the Burnham Committee of 1919 was constituted. Under the chairmanship of Lord Burnham, it comprised representatives of the education authorities and the National Union of Teachers. Three standard scales were authorised for different areas and, later, a fourth scale for London and a number of metropolitan authorities, which was higher than the provincial scales owing to the additional cost of travel and living in the metropolitan area. Similar scales were constructed for teachers in secondary and technical schools, and all the new scales came into force in 1921. The scales cannot be said to have offered a generous remuneration but they eased the teachers' financial problems considerably. Thus the average salaries of men and women certificated teachers had risen in 1923 to £310 and £254 respectively. Extra increments on the scales were given for additional years of training and for a first degree, but one major criticism was that no reward was available for the teacher who obtained further qualification. Immediately the scales came into operation, the serious

¹ The following table shows the progress which had been made in respect to the salaries of teachers in elementary schools.

AVERAGE SALARIES OF CERTIFICATED ASSISTANT-TEACHERS IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS, 1870-1918

<i>Year</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
	£	£
1870	94	57
1888	119	72
1895	122	80
1910	126 3	91 6
1913	129 3	94 6
1914	130 2	96
1918	167	123

condition of the national finances called for reduction of expenditure and in 1922 the teachers agreed to a 5 per cent. voluntary cut in salary. Other small adjustments, such as the abolition of Scale I in 1936, were made, but the principles of the original Burnham Scale remained in operation at the outbreak of the Second World War.

The superannuation of teachers was bound up with the problem of salaries. The pension scheme instituted by Kay-Shuttleworth had been withdrawn at the time of the Revised Code and teachers in endowed schools had never received any form of State pension. The Teachers' Superannuation Act of 1898 offered a contributory deferred annuity scheme and after 1902 some authorities allowed teachers to participate in the superannuation schemes devised for their officials. Mr. Fisher's Superannuation Act of 1918 included all teachers in grant-earning schools except those in universities and similar institutions which had adopted their own federated schemes. At first, the scheme was a non-contributory one, but the financial stringency of 1922 necessitated an amendment by which teachers were obliged to pay 5 per cent. of their salaries towards superannuation. To benefit under the scheme the teacher must have reached the age of sixty and have spent 30 years in approved service, of which at least 10 years must have been recognised service. Other forms of teaching, *e.g.* in a university, counted as qualifying but not as recognised service. The superannuation consisted of an annual pension equivalent to one-eightieth of the salary in respect of each complete year of recognised service or a half of the average salary of the last five years, whichever was less and a lump sum calculated on a similar basis. Further Superannuation Acts in 1925 and 1937 dealt with certain anomalies and extended the provisions to include recognition of service in Scotland and overseas.

The slump in trade, the increase in unemployment and the financial difficulties which followed the boom years immediately after the war, caused the appointment of the Geddes Committee on National Expenditure. Education was one of the services which came under review and various measures of economy were introduced which called a halt to forward progress. The developments planned by the author of the 1918 Act were curtailed or postponed and in particular the scheme for establishing continuation schools on a compulsory basis was left to the local authorities to make attendance voluntary or compulsory as they wished. The L.C.C.

and some other authorities went ahead bravely enough with a compulsory scheme. They soon found themselves pitted against immense difficulties in the way of obtaining the necessary buildings and suitable teachers. Many buildings designed for other uses were employed as schools, and the author remembers one case where a working men's club was utilised as a school, the bar being carefully covered up in the day time. Further difficulties were created by the attitude of some employers. Some saw the benefits of further education and in voluntary areas encouraged their boys and girls to attend school. Others grudged the time the young people were absent from employment in order to attend school. Thus, for some distance, the Edgware Road constituted the boundary between London and Middlesex. Young people applying for posts were often asked where they lived. If their homes were in the London area where attendance at a continuation school was compulsory, some employers refused to consider their applications further. One by one, the local authorities dropped compulsion and established the schools on a voluntary basis. After some years the majority of authorities abandoned the idea altogether although some large industrial undertakings established continuation schools for their employees. Rugby was the only district in which the Act was fully carried out and continuation schools have been retained until the present time.

In 1924, the Labour party came into power for a brief period and progress was resumed. Dr. Tawney had for some years advocated "secondary education for all" but had carefully defined what he meant by secondary education. He wrote, "The Labour Party is convinced that the only policy which is at once educationally sound and suited to a democratic community is one under which primary education and secondary education are organised as two stages in a single continuous process; secondary education being the education of the adolescent and primary education being education preparatory thereto."¹ This view had been gaining support after the war and many teachers and officials emphasised the meagre provision made for the training and instruction of the bulk of our adolescents at a period which was perhaps the most important and critical of their lives.

The problem appeared such an urgent one that the Consultative Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir W. H. Hadow, was

¹ R. H. Tawney. *Secondary Education for All*, p. 7, Allen and Unwin, 1924.

asked to inquire into "the organisation, objective, and curriculum of courses of study suitable for children who will remain in full-time attendance at schools, other than secondary schools, up to the age of fifteen." The report of the Committee, *The Education of the Adolescent*, appeared in 1926 and its publication inaugurated a new era in education which culminated in the Act of 1944

The report drew attention to the essential nature of the problem under investigation. "There is a tide which begins to rise in the veins of youth at the age of eleven or twelve. It is called by the name of adolescence. If that tide can be taken at the flood, and a new voyage begun in the strength and along the flow of its current, we think that it will move on to fortune." The Committee advocated a clean break in the education of children between the ages of eleven and twelve. All those who did not go forward to "secondary" education in the traditional meaning of the term, should receive a secondary education in a truer and broader sense in selective and non-selective central schools and senior departments. This newer form of secondary education would differ from the older in two main ways; it would be shorter in duration on account of the existing school-leaving age of fourteen and it would be characterised by a practical and realistic rather than by an academic bias. In order to clear the ground for the new proposals, the Committee recommended the adoption of a new terminology. The word "elementary" had become misleading and the term "primary" should be substituted for it. This would apply to all education up to the age of eleven or twelve. Education after this age should be termed post-primary, or secondary, and would include that given in the existing secondary schools and that given in the schools now called central. Hence secondary education would be given in schools of two different types, one in which the leaving age would be over sixteen, the grammar school, and one with a leaving age of 14+ to 15+, the modern school.

This would necessitate a complete reorganisation of the existing elementary school into separate departments catering for infant, junior, and senior pupils respectively. The report expressed the hope that the school-leaving age would soon be raised to fifteen to secure an adequate course of instruction for the adolescent. The ideals behind the scheme were, "the forming and strengthening of character . . . the training of boys and girls to delight in pursuits and rejoice in accomplishments—work in music and art; work in wood and metals; work in literature and the record of human history—

which may become the recreations and the ornaments of leisure in maturer years. And still another is the awakening and guiding of the practical intelligence, for the better and more skilled service of the community in all its multiple business and complex affairs."

The modern schools would be of different types corresponding to the existing selective and non-selective central schools or, where this was not possible, senior classes or departments would be established in the elementary schools. In addition, the Committee believed that certain children would benefit by being drafted from these schools at the age of 13+ to trade or junior technical schools.

The next problem was that of deciding upon the types of post-primary education suited to the abilities and interests of the individual child. The report made suggestions concerning the methods of selection which, with certain minor variations, were put into practice by L.E.A.'s. The author's experience at this period as senior external examiner for the City of Wakefield Education Committee may be quoted as typical of the procedure adopted. An examining board consisting of the Director of Education, members of the education committee, and representatives of the teachers in primary and post-primary schools, was constituted as the body for controlling administration, receiving the examiner's reports, and recommending the awards to the education committee. Every child in the junior schools between the ages of ten and twelve who had passed through Standard IV, sat for a preliminary examination consisting of written papers in arithmetic, English, and composition, together with an intelligence test. The papers were set by the external examiners and marked by a panel of head teachers according to a marking scheme submitted to the board by the examiners. Those who reached a minimum standard of attainment were permitted to enter the second examination, which was the scholarship examination proper, and consisted of tests similar to those in the preliminary examination. The papers in the second examination were marked by the external examiners and the marks were adjusted by the addition of an age allowance. All borderline cases were examined orally and the reports of head teachers taken into consideration. The examiners presented their recommendations to the board. Candidates were classified into three groups: those considered suitable for secondary grammar schools, those fitted for selective central schools and the remainder who entered non-selective senior schools. Additional examinations were provided for pupils in central and senior schools between the ages

of twelve and fourteen and for those in secondary schools of twelve to sixteen years of age who for some reason stood in need of a Free Place award. At first the weakness of the system was due to the allotment of a fixed number of free places in grammar schools by the Board of Education. This was obviously for administrative reasons, but it had the effect of producing slight variations of standard each year. Later, when the fixed allotment of free places was withdrawn, a more uniform standard could be maintained. Some authorities did not employ an intelligence test, and others dispensed with a preliminary examination.

The Hadow Report expressed anxiety lest the modern school should become an inferior "secondary school" and deprecated any attempt to ape the academic outlook and curriculum of the grammar school. It was thought desirable that some type of school-leaving certificate should be provided, but the presentation of pupils for such an examination should be optional. The curriculum of the modern school was considered under its respective subject heads, but the principle on which it should be based is that it should be suited to the needs, outlook, interests, and ability of the pupil and not *vice versa*. Thus, "There is no question that among the pupils of the new post-primary schools the desire and the ability to do and to make, to learn from concrete things and situations, will be more widely diffused than the desire and the ability to acquire book-knowledge and to master generalisations and abstract ideas. Accordingly 'practical work' in its several forms must fill a large place in the curriculum. But this does not mean that the pupils' intellectual training is to be regarded as of secondary importance. It has been amply shown that for many children the attainment of skill in some form of practical work in science, handwork, or the domestic arts may be a stimulus to higher intellectual effort. . . . Moreover, apart from the question of stimulus, boys and girls with the type of interests we have in view can grasp concepts through practical work much more easily than by devoting long periods to the abstract study of ideas."

The report on the *Education of the Adolescent* was a notable step in educational progress, but its full implementation depended on certain requisites, such as the wholehearted effort of local authorities to reorganise, as soon as possible, the raising of the leaving age to fifteen, and the necessity of convincing parents that the modern school was different from, but not inferior to, the grammar school. The school-leaving age was not raised, so that the number of pupils

who remained at school after fourteen years was extremely small. The examination system had the unfortunate effect of persuading parents that the children who were passed on to modern schools were of an inferior type. Many education authorities pressed on vigorously with their schemes of reorganisation, but in some cases authorities made no move until pressure was applied by the Board of Education. Those like the West Riding authority, who went ahead with the building of new schools, accomplished much of the work before the next economic slump slowed up developments and were on the way to carrying out the requirements of the Act of 1944. Less progressive authorities found themselves with large numbers of unsuitable schools so that in consequence they have an enormous building programme in front of them.

The clean break at 11+ has been criticised on the ground that it was adopted for administrative reasons to ensure a full three-year course of post-primary education and that from a psychological point of view 12+ or even later would have been more suitable. The answer is that it was necessitated by the conditions of 1926. Another criticism was that logically, the Committee should have considered the education of infants and juniors before proceeding to the education of the adolescent. It must be admitted that the order was unfortunate, since in most areas priority was given to the needs of the adolescent. The report on the junior school did not appear until 1931 and that on the infant and nursery school was not issued until 1933. Meanwhile, a good deal of damage had been done. The scholarship examination had taken possession of many junior schools and the whole of their work was orientated to obtaining as many entrants to grammar schools as possible. The writer remembers asking a group of junior school children what was their favourite lesson in school and the answer was, "Intelligence." This speaks for itself.

The report on the junior school emphasised that the curriculum should be considered in terms "of activity and experience rather than knowledge to be acquired or facts to be stored," and laid stress on the working out of suitable projects rather than a rigid division of the time-table into subjects. In quite a number of cases the Free Place examination turned schools away from this wise advice and there was a considerable danger of the development of a new form of Payment by Results controlling the junior schools.

During 1931, the economic condition of the country became so alarming that the Labour Government called into being Sir

George May's Economy Committee with the object of advising the Chancellor of the Exchequer in regard to ways and means of reducing national expenditure. The Committee recommended a number of drastic reductions which were accepted by the new National Government. The 50 per cent. Exchequer grant made for building purposes was withdrawn, teachers' salaries were cut and other economies made. No new buildings could be erected except in cases of necessity, such as providing school facilities for a new housing estate. All kinds of progressive schemes had to be abandoned, and in some cases economy was carried to such an extent that from a long-term point of view it became an extravagance. The worst aspects of the slump began to fade by the end of 1933 and the work of reconstruction began once more, but more slowly and steadily, and perhaps with greater practical wisdom and foresight. The economy campaign caused a drastic change in the Free Place system. The Free Place examination became a Special Place examination. Parents of children selected for entrance to grammar schools were required to pay fees on a sliding scale according to their incomes. Only those whose income was below certain limits fixed according to the number of children in the family, could obtain a free place for their children. The amount of grant paid to students in training for the teaching profession depended upon a similar "means test" and still does.

The Dual system presented difficulties to reorganisation, especially in rural districts, owing to lack of transport facilities. When an all-standard school was converted into a junior school, the distances children had to travel to a senior school were greatly increased. If the school happened to be a Church of England school, the senior pupils either had to be drafted to a council school or a new senior non-provided school would have to be built by the Church authorities, thus throwing a heavy burden on their finances. The Education Act of 1936 was meant to answer this and other problems.

This Act raised the school-leaving age to fifteen, to take effect on September 1st, 1939. Exemptions were allowed where it could be proved that the child was proceeding to "beneficial employment," but so many loopholes were left that it was feared that the provision would become ineffective on account of the number of exemptions which might be granted. This was not tested, as the outbreak of the Second World War postponed the scheme. The Act empowered L.E.A.'s to make grants to managers of non-provided schools up to 75 per cent. of the cost of the school buildings for senior children.

Such schools were to be known as Special Agreement Schools and managers were given a time limit in which to make up their minds. Altogether, 519 schemes were submitted and at the outbreak of war, 37 had materialised. The Act of 1944 honoured this "gentleman's agreement." In return for the grant, managers surrendered the appointment of teachers to the L.E.A. Denominational teaching could be given by Reserved teachers, but undenominational teaching was to be given to those children whose parents desired it. This was to be in accordance with an Agreed Syllabus.

By the close of 1938, about 64 per cent. of school children were attending reorganised schools, but further progress came to an end with the outbreak of the Second World War in September, 1939.

One of the marked features of the period 1914-38 was the rapid increase both in the number of secondary schools and in the number of the pupils attending them.¹ In 1937, the total admissions to grant-aided secondary schools was 97,115 and of these 78,912 were from elementary schools.

In 1911, the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education was asked to investigate the question of external examinations for secondary schools because of the increasing confusion owing to the multiplicity of examinations and examining bodies. As a consequence of the Committee's report, the Board, in consultation with the universities and a number of professional bodies, produced a scheme to limit the number of examinations. It was proposed to recognise the universities as the responsible bodies for conducting such examinations, and to co-ordinate the work of the eight examining bodies, an advisory committee consisting of representatives of the universities and L.E.A.'s was to be formed.² The advisory committee was constituted in 1917 under the title of the Secondary School Examinations Council. Two standard examinations were proposed. The first was the School Certificate Examination taken

¹ This is illustrated in the following table.

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. of Grant-aided Schools</i>	<i>No. of Efficient Schools (Non-grant-aided)</i>	<i>No. of Pupils in Grant-aided Schools</i>	<i>No. of Pupils in Efficient Schools*</i>
1913	1027	121	187,647	22,546
1921	1249	233	362,025	46,610
1937	1397	397	484,676	73,421

* Excluding Preparatory Schools.

² Originally seven and eventually eight, the recognised examining bodies were the Joint Matriculation Board of the Northern Universities, the Universities of London, Bristol, and Durham, the Central Welsh Board, the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board, the Oxford Delegacy for Local Examinations, and the Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate.

at about sixteen years of age, which was to test the results of a four years' course of general education. The second was the Higher School Certificate Examination which allowed for a degree of specialisation and would be taken about two years later. The latter was intended for the pupils who remained in the VIth Form to follow an advanced course in Arts or Science for which the Board of Education gave a special grant. It was intended that both examinations should be in groups of subjects and that in the School Certificate, drawing, music, handicrafts, and housecraft (for girls) should be included. The form and not the pupil was to be the unit for examination. The examinations were not to be purely external and it was thought that this could be achieved by bringing teachers, through their representatives, into touch with the examining bodies, by allowing them to submit alternative syllabuses for examination and by obtaining from heads of schools their estimate of the merits of candidates from their schools in each of the examination subjects. The examinations came into operation in 1917. Although the Board of Education had emphasised that it should be "a cardinal principle that the examination should follow the curriculum and not determine it," that precept was largely ignored. This was partly due to the fact that the School Certificate Examination was made to serve a double purpose. On the one hand, its function was that of a Vth Form examination for those who would leave school about the age of sixteen, but on the other, since universities accepted the certificate under certain conditions as providing exemption from Matriculation, it also was considered a university entrance examination. In the same way a Higher School Certificate was looked upon as a qualification for entry to a university Honours course. Quite erroneously, employers regarded the possession of a Matriculation Certificate as something very much superior to an ordinary School Certificate. Thus, as the Spens Report showed, the examinations reacted upon the schools in a fashion that those who framed the original regulations had never contemplated. The School Certificate Examination began to control the curriculum of the schools and often caused overstrain and excessive anxiety to some of the pupils. The requirements for exemption from Matriculation narrowed the choice of subjects already restricted by the group system. Thus, pupils who had received instruction in Scripture, art, music, and handicrafts in the lower forms often relinquished these subjects on approaching the Vth, since only art or music was originally recognised for purposes of exemption from Matriculation. In view of these

unfortunate results the Spens Report considered that a Matriculation Certificate should no longer be awarded on the results of the School Certificate Examination. This recommendation was accepted, but the outbreak of war interfered with the amendments and for a time the original regulations were in force as a special concession.

The Spens Committee thought that in many ways the examinations had been a valuable influence in raising the general standard of attainment in each of the school subjects, but this had been offset by the narrowing effects of the group system and the tendency to regard those subjects which were not recognised for Matriculation requirements as inferior. In 1941, the President of the Board of Education appointed the Committee of the Secondary School Examinations Council, under the chairmanship of Sir Cyril Norwood, to consider suggested changes in the secondary school curriculum and the problems of school examinations. The Norwood Committee recommended that "in the interest of the individual child and of the increased freedom and responsibility of the teaching profession, change in the School Certificate Examination should be in the direction of making the examination entirely internal, that is to say, conducted by the teachers at the school on syllabuses and papers framed by themselves." (P. 140.) Such a drastic reorganisation of the examination called for a transitional period during which the School Certificate Examination would be carried out by the existing examining bodies and supervised by a Standing Committee of eight teachers, four members of L.E.A.'s, four university members, and four H.M.I.'s acting as assessors. The schools should be encouraged to offer their own syllabuses and some of the present ones should be enlightened. No restrictions should be placed on the subjects pupils wished to offer, but such changes would require two years' notice given by the examining bodies. It was suggested that the transition period should be seven years, at the end of which the whole problem would be reviewed to decide whether conditions were such that a change to a wholly internal examination would be possible.

The Norwood Committee thought that a School Leaving Examination should be conducted twice a year for pupils of 18+ to meet the requirements of University Entrance and of entry into the professions. Pupils should take in this examination the subjects required for their particular purpose. The present Higher School

Certificate Examination should be abolished and State and Local Education Authority scholarships should be awarded on another basis. The winning of a scholarship at a university "should constitute a claim upon public funds for assistance towards the cost of living at the university, subject to evidence of the need." The University Examining Bodies should hold an examination in March for the award of State and Local Education Authority scholarships. Recommendations would be made to L.E.A.'s by the examining bodies and would be considered by specially appointed boards, who would take into account performance in the examination and the school records of candidates. The State would make the final award and bear the cost of the scholarships. It was thought that the amount of the scholarships should be sufficient to enable the holders to take a full part in university life and activities. Many L.E.A.'s had for some years assisted university candidates by loans, a system which the Committee deprecated, since the repayment of the loan threw a heavy burden on the student.

The report on *The Education of the Adolescent* had been concerned with those types of post-primary schools (senior, selective, and non-selective central schools) which are now included under the term "secondary modern." It had omitted from consideration two other important forms of secondary education, the secondary grammar school and the junior technical school. This omission was rectified by the Spens Report, 1938, which took for its terms of reference "to consider and report upon the organisation and interrelation of schools, other than those administered under the Elementary Code, which provide education for pupils beyond the age of 11+; regard being had in particular to the framework and content of the education of pupils who do not remain at school beyond the age of about sixteen." Although the report was not specifically concerned with the modern school, yet the Committee found it impossible to discuss the problems with which they were dealing without some reference to other types of post-primary school. It was felt that the schools covered by the terms of reference should retain a special character and must retain a special importance, though this did not entail the enjoyment of specially favourable conditions. The Committee had carefully considered the possibility of multilateral schools which by means of separate streams would offer all types of secondary education. For two or three years there would be a common core to the courses

provided, but at the age of thirteen or fourteen, pupils would be able to follow courses suited to their individual needs and capacities. These would include grammar, modern, technical, and perhaps other courses. The idea was an attractive one in that it would bring together pupils of different abilities, interests and objectives, and would ease the transference of pupils from one type of course to another. The Committee, however, did not favour this solution. The multilateral school would of necessity be a large institution with at least 800 pupils and it would involve the practical difficulty of finding a head who would be competent to control and inspire to the same degree each side of the school. Great importance was attached to the influence of the VIth Form upon the rest of the school. In the multilateral school, the VIth would be mainly recruited from pupils on the grammar side and would therefore be too small to exert an appreciable influence on the life of the school. There was also the risk that the grammar side, because of its traditional prestige, would have an undue effect on the modern side. Moreover, the value of a technical school would be diminished unless it was closely associated with the staff of a technical college and able to use the equipment of the latter institution. For these reasons, the report considered it best for grammar and modern schools to exist and develop independently, though there was some scope for experiment with the multilateral idea.

The report envisaged secondary education under three forms, grammar, technical, and modern, so that every child could receive that kind of education for which he was fitted. As soon as the national finances permitted, admission to both the grammar and technical high schools should be on the basis of 100 per cent. special places. "If parity of schools in the secondary stage, so generally advocated by our witnesses, and regarded by us as essential, is to be established, payment of fees in one school and not in another becomes incongruous." (P. 309.) The technical high school would offer a five-year course to its pupils from 11+ and would thus be distinguished from the existing junior technical school with a two- or three-year course from 13+. In view of the difficulty of ascertaining at 11+ whether a child was more fitted for a grammar than a technical high school, or *vice versa*, the curriculum of each type of school should be broadly of the same character in the first two years. The technical high schools should be housed in the premises of technical colleges or institutes and,

although they would have their own headmasters, they would secure the benefit of the teaching staff and special equipment of the parent institution. "Whilst we do not recommend that every Junior Technical School should as a matter of course be converted into a Technical High School, we do consider that a generous provision of such Technical High Schools should be made by the conversion of existing schools and the establishment of new schools." (P. xxx.) The technical high school should have its own leaving examination. "We recommend that a new type of leaving certificate should be established for pupils in Technical High Schools on the basis of internal examinations founded on the school curriculum, and subject to external assessment by assessors appointed or approved by the Board of Education. . . . We recommend that these certificates should be given an equal standing with School Certificates as fulfilling the first condition for Matriculation." (P. 373.) The criticisms of the School Certificate Examination have already been mentioned. The existing grammar school curriculum was "still coloured by obsolete doctrines of the faculties and of formal training; and the endeavour to teach a wide range of subjects to the same high level to all pupils has led to the overcrowding of the timetable." (P. xxii.) Although 85 per cent. of the pupils left the grammar school at about sixteen, the curriculum was still planned in the interest of the minority who looked forward to a university career. Up to sixteen, the courses provided should be complete in themselves and this need not prejudice the interests of those pupils who wished to proceed to the university.

In a few places, experiments were carried out on the lines suggested by the Spens Report, but the outbreak of war put an end to new developments for the time being. However, many of the ideas suggested were incorporated in the Act of 1944.

The Hadow Report of 1926 had considered the types of post-primary education which are now included under the term "secondary modern." Later, in 1938, the Spens Report had been concerned with other forms of post-primary education, the secondary grammar and the technical high school. The relation between these different types of post-primary education was the concern of the Norwood Report.

The Norwood Committee accepted the view that secondary education is the stage following on that of primary education. "At the primary stage the main preoccupation lies with basic habits, skills, and aptitudes of mind, using as data the veriest elements

of knowledge which all children should be put into the way of acquiring. . . . In the secondary stage, on the other hand, the attempt is made to provide for such special interests and aptitudes the kind of education most suited to them; they may have begun to indicate themselves at least roughly in the last phases of primary education, or they may not declare themselves in such degree as to deserve attention till a different kind of education is encountered. It is the business of secondary education, first, to provide opportunity for a special cast of mind to manifest itself, if not already manifested in the primary stage, and, secondly, to develop special interests and aptitudes to the full by means of a curriculum and a life best calculated to this end." (Pp. 1-2) This would mean that secondary education should meet the needs of three broad groups of pupils and to achieve this there should be three types of education, secondary grammar, secondary technical, and secondary modern. The ideal would be a relation of parity between the types, but the Committee added significantly, "Parity of esteem in our view cannot be conferred by administrative decree nor by equality of cost per pupil; it can only be won by the school itself." The age of 11+ or even earlier was chosen as the beginning of the secondary stage in education, and pupils would pass into the type of school which seemed to meet their needs. As the selection in a number of cases would be tentative, it was recommended that the pupil should pass into what may be described as the "Lower School" of one of the three types of school and should spend three years there. During this period, the child would be carefully studied to see what special interests developed and, if found necessary, a transfer to another type of school should be arranged. This would entail a curriculum which in its broad lines would be common to every type of school for the first two years. From 13+ to 16+ the pupil would pursue a course of study suited to his abilities and interests in the type of school which could offer it. At the end of the course he might enter employment and pursue a part-time education or remain at school to take a more advanced course leading to the university or some other institution for further study. The secondary grammar school course was envisaged as extending to 18+, but it was thought that pupils from secondary technical schools should have more opportunities than at present of proceeding to institutions providing advanced study.

The report then makes a very important statement. "On educational grounds we are in favour of a break of six months, in

which boys and girls between the ages of eighteen and nineteen years would render public service interpreted in a broad sense. . . . Before this break comes, pupils going on to universities and other places of advanced study would have taken the examinations necessary to secure admission and financial aid, and would take up residence after the period of service." (P. 16.) This recommendation has materialised for quite a different reason. The needs of national defence in these post-war years have necessitated the retention of a form of conscription for, at any rate, some time ahead. Boys intending to enter a university usually receive deferment of service until they have completed the university entrance requirements. At present, they have the option of doing their year's service before entering the university or of deferring it until they have completed their degree course. Experience of ex-Service students goes to show that the former is the more advantageous. The small loss in academic subjects is more than compensated by the greater maturity of mind and the fuller knowledge of the world in general and human nature in particular, that they bring to their university studies.

The problem of selection at 11+ was carefully considered by the Committee. The difficulties were acknowledged and the value of effective school record cards, showing the history of the child's progress through the school, was stressed. The judgment of the teachers in the primary school might be supplemented by intelligence or other tests. In order to make transfer to another type of school at 13+ easier and more effective, the establishment of multilateral schools had been suggested. The attitude of the Norwood Committee on this matter is similar to that expressed in the Spens Report. The Norwood Report also adds, "The phrase 'multilateral school' has frequently been used in evidence offered to us orally and in writing. It is a phrase which few of our witnesses have used in the same sense. To some of them the larger secondary schools of to-day are already 'multilateral' in the sense that they offer alternative courses of study; others would carry further the diversity of courses so as to include curricula which would offer specialised courses in preparation for particular occupations; others again would extend the range of a multilateral school to include technical work such as is now undertaken in a Junior Technical School and also the curriculum appropriate to the existing Senior School. The vagueness of the phrase has in our opinion been

responsible for much confusion of thought and statement.” (Pp. 18-19.) The relation of a technical high school to local industry was deemed an essential one and it was doubted whether that relationship could be maintained unless the school were free to direct its own destiny. A more satisfactory arrangement seemed to be that of a “bilateral school” in which a grammar and a modern school were combined. The separate sides of such a school should not fall in number below a certain limit if variety of courses was to be offered. “On the other hand the tradition of English education has always valued human contacts and is not favourable to large schools in which the Head Master cannot have sufficient knowledge of each boy; thus a maximum figure is imposed beyond which expansion is undesirable, and in this connection it must always be remembered that there are far more pupils for whom a Modern School is appropriate than there are pupils for whom a Grammar School is appropriate.” (P. 19.)

Owing to the work and influence of such outstanding headmasters as Arnold and Thring, the public schools had risen high in public esteem, but by the last decade of the 19th century they showed a tendency to rest upon their laurels. They were shaken out of their complacency by the challenge issued by Mr. F. W. Sanderson, Headmaster of Oundle, who in his conception of the function of the public school, was a lineal descendant of Thring. Many of his own generation regarded Sanderson as an innovator and were sceptical concerning the developments which were taking place at Oundle, but his contribution to education is perhaps the greatest made by any headmaster of a public school, since it has influenced many secondary schools outside the circle.

Sanderson never claimed to be a philosopher or psychologist nor had he made any serious study of the theory of education. He arrived at his conclusions because he felt profoundly dissatisfied with the outlook and the teaching of the public schools. He was an earnest student of science and social affairs and he saw school problems through the eyes of a social reformer.

At the end of last century Oundle School was an ancient grammar school which had been developed by the Grocers' Company into a public school with accommodation for about 500 boys. It had dwindled partly because of its proximity to Rugby and Uppingham but more so because it adhered to the stereotyped traditions of the past. Sanderson was appointed in 1892 to bring new life to the school, which had fallen to about 100 pupils. At

first he met with violent opposition to his reforms both from the older boys and from the masters. He persevered and wore down the opposition and succeeded in carrying out his reforms to a degree he never imagined possible at first. All through the period of his office, he was continually progressing and experimenting with new ideas. At the time of his sudden death in 1922, the school had grown to over 500 pupils with a long waiting list and parents all over England were only too anxious to enter their sons for a place at Oundle. As the school increased in numbers, it grew in material equipment. This growth consisted not only in classrooms respects, the school became one of the best equipped educational school was equipped with workshops for joinery and engineering, a machine shop, a forge, a foundry, and an experimental farm. Sanderson added laboratories for physics, chemistry, and biology, art rooms, an observatory, a large library, and a museum. In these respects, the school became one of the best equipped educational institutions in the country. As a consequence of Sanderson's changes, Oundle not only continued to win university scholarships but its scholars gained interests and developed an enthusiasm for work and study of a kind unknown to the average public school boy.

Sanderson was essentially a practical teacher. Hence, we find certain weaknesses in his understanding of educational aims. He had little experience of the class teaching which had developed in our elementary and secondary schools. We find in him, therefore, a violent dislike of classroom studies which he considered merely as a drill. Also, as a scientist, he failed to appreciate fully the value of cultural studies in the service of humanity and thought of science as affording the best example of creative thought in the service of mankind. The last phrase indicates that his breadth of view helped him to a large extent to overcome his limitations. Science for itself, apart from its service to humanity, had, in his eyes, little value in school.

As a form master at Dulwich and in his early years at Oundle, he became increasingly impressed with the futility of methods of teaching and learning in which pupils were passive, receptive and generally bored. He found that the average boy disliked school lessons and only worked if there was an incentive in the way of examinations, marks, and punishments. Sanderson regarded such as artificial incentives which, if relied upon, destroyed the true spirit of work and study. It was not a question of the subject-matter of instruction. The evil was as rampant in science and

mathematics as in Classics and literary studies. As he said "Education must be fitted to the boy, not the boy to Education. He further realised that the education of the schools was out of touch with the natural tendencies of youth and failed to prepare the pupils for entering into the life and work of the community in the right spirit of work and service. He said repeatedly that the traditional spirit of school learning was individualistic, acquisitive, and possessive when it should be social, co-operative, and creative.

He thought of the ordinary methods of teaching boys mathematics, languages, and elementary science as the gaining of the tools of knowledge. Too much time was spent on learning the tools without using them, and he spoke of the classrooms where boys go to be taught, as tool sharpening rooms, necessary but subsidiary. For creative work, other types of room and other occupations were needed. Sanderson visualised the school as preparing the boy for complete living, not merely to make a livelihood but to enter into the work and life of the world with wide and active interests and in the spirit of progress and service. For this reason, he thought that practical work similar to the real work of the world was essential in school. Thus he introduced workshops, a foundry, and a farm. But nothing was further from his purpose than the training of engineers and farmers. He believed in putting boys to these subjects because their abilities or tastes showed that by means of them he could train their powers. In other words, he sought to satisfy the needs of each individual. He considered that the aim of the school was to stimulate a life, not to acquire possessive knowledge, but one which would develop more intense interests in work and thought. At the same time, he did not despise scholarship or knowledge. He held, however, that these were secondary, by-products of creativeness. Given interests and creative power, then these would follow.

So, too, with examinations. He did not despise them but he realised that his schemes would not be sound if they did not produce thorough learning, and examinations acted as an incentive and a test of this. But he also realised that if the school produced nothing else but examination results, then the learning was empty and profitless.

Sanderson believed that the schools should be in the closest and most intimate touch with the life and work of the community. As he said, "Work in schools should be for service and should be turned to the practical and social needs of the community." Again,

"Adult life should not be a breaking away from school, but a continuation and a development of school." Like Dewey, he conceived schools as miniature copies of the community. They should exercise boys in the same kinds of activities and interests as they would be called upon to use when they left school to enter life. Hence, he was not afraid of the term "vocational." He saw vocation as the centre about which a boy's interests were moving and he wished to seize this natural interest and turn it to good account, to develop it in the right atmosphere into a right spirit of true work in the service of the community.

In his last lecture at University College, London, a lecture followed by his sudden collapse and death, Sanderson told his audience, "When I became a headmaster I began by introducing engineering into the school—applied science. The first effect was that a large number of boys who could not do other things could do that. They began to like their work in school. That led on to introducing a large number of other sciences, such as agricultural chemistry, horse-shoeing (if that is a science), metallurgical chemistry, biochemistry, agriculture; and of course, these new sorts of work interested a large number of other boys of a type different from the type interested by the old work, so we got an exceptional number of boys, curiously enough, unexpectedly liking what they had to do in school. Then I ventured to do something daring; it is most daring to introduce the scientific method of finding out the truth—a dangerous thing—by the process of experiment and research. We began to replace explicit teaching by finding out. We did this first with these newly introduced sciences. Then we began to impress the aims and outlook of science on to other departments of school life. History, for instance: we began to replace the old classroom teaching and learning by a laboratory for history, full of other books and other things required in abundance, so that boys in all parts of the school could, for some scientific purpose (not to learn; to go into schools to learn was egotistical), find out the things we required for to-day. We set them to find out things for the service of science, the service of literature, modern languages, music."¹

Sanderson despised the formal mechanical measurements which often masqueraded under the name of practical science. He believed that the work in laboratories and workshops in the school

¹ *Sanderson of Oundle*, p. 357, Chatto and Windus, 1924.

must be real work. "Sanderson was always strongly in favour of the work done in the shops being 'real,' something that boys would realise at once was of genuine value; models and toys and petty jobs were all useful enough in giving a certain manual dexterity, but genuine commercial work could be made much more truly educational. The whole process from drawing-office to the final erecting and testing, he held, should be followed, if possible, and a real insight gained into the reason for the design, into the properties of various materials used, and into the way in which each part fulfilled its purpose."¹ Thus, when the First World War broke out, the workshops at Oundle were sufficiently well equipped to take a valuable part in the manufacture of munitions. "The plan was adopted of sending into shops each form for a complete week, and this arrangement seemed so satisfactory that it has been retained. It was soon found that the regular work of the school did not suffer. In fact the life and elasticity given by these calls for help seemed to have the effect of invigorating the regular work. There is no doubt that the opportunities provided for creative work make a strong appeal to most boys, and many who might be voted dull in the classroom show themselves to be possessed of exceptional powers in other and no less important directions. Such boys frequently find that a problem they have met in the classroom or laboratory is presenting itself to them again in a form which evokes a much readier response from their understanding."²

Sanderson's work was carried out in the environment of a great public school, but it has lessons for other types of school. Those who are concerned with the curricula of the new secondary modern and technical high schools can learn much from a study of what he accomplished at Oundle.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

² *Oundle School Commemoration Book*, 1927, p. 54

CHAPTER XI

THE OVERHAUL OF 1944 AND THE FUTURE

The extension of the school-leaving age proposed by the Act of 1936 was not realised, since the beginning of hostilities in September, 1939, brought an end, for the time being, to all schemes of educational development. The vital need was the removal of school-children in vulnerable areas to districts where they might enjoy comparative safety. Before fighting broke out, plans had been drawn up for this mass evacuation, and in the uneasy days at the end of August they were put into operation. The evacuation scheme was carried through by a co-operative effort of the Ministries of Health, Transport, and Home Security, working according to plans prepared by the Board of Education in conjunction with the local authorities.

The transference of children from the danger to the reception areas went smoothly and with only minor and occasional hitches. The difficulties began when the children arrived in the reception areas. The first thing to be done was to settle the children in their temporary homes and then to arrange for their schooling. The school accommodation in the reception areas was, naturally, not sufficient for the flood of young people who came pouring in. Therefore, schools had to be split and one found instances of head-teachers whose pupils were scattered over a wide area of several villages, perhaps a considerable distance from one another. The usual plan adopted was that of a double shift, whereby the same school buildings were used, say, in the mornings by the original school and in the afternoons by the evacuated children. The hours of instruction were cut down, but recreational and practical activities in the open air were arranged for pupils during the periods in which they were not receiving instruction in the school. In some places there were sufficient public halls and Sunday Schools for the accommodation of the incoming children. Teachers and inspectors worked at high pressure to produce some order out of chaos and get a degree of education functioning as quickly as possible. The division of the counties into small areas of local administration was partly responsible for the muddle which followed, and the overlapping of authorities and the contradictory orders issued by neighbouring directors of education, who worked without much

co-operation, proved a constant source of frustration to those who worked day and night to create some kind of efficient educational organisation. It says much for the self-denial and public spirit of the teachers, inspectors, and other helpers, that a breakdown was avoided. The friendship and sympathy of the Dominions and the United States were most marked. Arrangements were made, chiefly in Canada and the United States, to receive children whose parents were willing for them to travel overseas. Some availed themselves of the opportunity, but the submarine menace quickly put an end to such arrangements.

The evacuation of town children to the country was bound to slow down the progress of their instruction, but it produced beneficial results of another kind. Large numbers of children derived benefit from the change to a more healthy atmosphere and the open-air activities of the countryside. Children whose experience of nature had been restricted to odd hours of play in the parks were now placed in an entirely new environment. Some found it difficult to settle down and complained of the lack of cinemas, fish and chip shops, and other excrescences of modern urban civilisation. After an interval, parents were allowed to visit their children, a step which was on the whole unwise because of the unsettling effect produced by the visitors. Those who did not accompany their parents back home obtained marked benefit from the change. Teachers began to find that education involved a great deal more than classroom instruction, and since circumstances compelled them to improvise and experiment, they developed new and more realistic methods of approach, and, through continual contact with their pupils, began to know them more thoroughly than ever before. Town and country were brought together and their mutual suspicion and mistrust began to disappear. All of us have heard stories, often perhaps exaggerated, of the wretched condition of certain of the evacuated children—insufficient clothing, bad home influences, dirty and verminous bodies, lack of manners, absence of interests, and low standards of behaviour—but such instances were helpful in opening the nation's eyes to the shortcomings of many homes and schools. In no small measure, the events of these days served to strengthen the conviction that a stocktaking of the educational situation of the country was necessary at the earliest possible opportunity.

On looking back, we now realise that the two mistakes of the evacuation scheme were that it was not compulsory for children

living in the vulnerable areas, and that parents were permitted to visit their children at too early a stage and too frequently. The air raids that everyone confidently expected had not yet materialised and, by the beginning of 1940, large numbers of the evacuees had drifted back home.

In the "danger" areas, the Government closed all schools and many of the buildings were used as billets for the Forces or to house the different civil defence organisations. The children who were left behind received no form of education whatever and the withdrawal of control from the school and, in many cases, from the home, left them to roam the streets and fall into mischief. In some towns, the teachers visited the children in their homes and attempted to supply at least a minimum of education. In Leeds, a system of temporary schools was organised by voluntary effort. In February, 1940, the Government realised that on the whole the evacuation plan had failed and instructed L.E.A.'s to reopen all schools not occupied by the military authorities as soon as sufficient air-raid shelters had been constructed. Many children had not attended school for over seven months and the effect on their education may be measured by the large number of illiterates in the intake to the Forces at the present time. After Dunkirk came the air raids. Children in the towns which experienced the Blitz suffered a further setback. The actual number of schools destroyed or rendered unserviceable through enemy action was not as great as might have been supposed, and the absence of the evacuees allowed for transference to undamaged schools without serious overcrowding. The more serious aspect was the effect upon the children of night after night spent in shelters during aerial bombardment.

It is significant and very characteristic of the British people, that long before the crisis of the war had been reached, serious thought was being given to the problems of post-war reconstruction and that amongst them that of education occupied a prominent position. Lester Smith considers the stimulus was the speech of the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, made to his old school, Harrow. "When the war is won, it must be one of our aims to work to establish a state of society where the advantages and privileges which hitherto have been enjoyed by the few shall be more widely shared by the men and youth of the nation."¹

The Churches were the first to move. The Anglican Archbishops, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster, and the

¹ W. O. Lester Smith. *To Whom Do Schools Belong?*, p. 166, Blackwell, 1943.

Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council united in drawing up a memorial at the end of 1940, entitled, *A Christian Basis for Peace*, and at the beginning of 1941, Dr. Temple, Chairman of the Anglican Conference at Malvern, made a number of proposals, some of which found their way into the Act of 1944. When, in the summer of the same year, Mr. R. A. Butler was appointed President of the Board of Education, a joint deputation of Anglicans and Free Churchmen placed before him their views on religious education. By this time, discussion groups in the Forces, in civil life, and in the broadcasting studios were debating the proposed educational reconstruction. The N.U.T., the Trade Unions, and the Association of Directors of Education, all put forward their views. The Government had no lack of counsellors. In June, 1941, the "Green Book" was issued by the Board to representatives of L.E.A.'s, teachers' associations, and certain individuals. The book was supposed to be a confidential document but in Lester Smith's phrase, "it was distributed in such a blaze of secrecy" that its contents became public property. Its publication was an attempt to collect opinions of educationists on such subjects as the raising of the school-leaving age, the abolition of secondary school fees, the recruitment and training of teachers, and other important problems. As a result of the answers to the questionnaire, and the enormous amount of information presented to the Government from every source, Mr. Butler, in July, 1943, issued the White Paper on *Educational Reconstruction*, in which he forecast the lines the future Education Bill would take. The White Paper was eagerly received and discussed, and the general approval with which it was accepted encouraged Mr. Butler to go ahead in preparing his Bill. Certain important topics, such as the recruitment and training of teachers, examinations and the grammar school curriculum, and the relations of the public schools to the national system, did not find mention in the White Paper as they were the object of consideration by certain committees formed for that purpose. In December, 1943, the Education Bill received its first reading and it became law on August 3rd, 1944. All parties and both Houses of Parliament accepted its main principles, discussions and criticisms being directed to practical and minor considerations. It was an agreed measure in so far as anything in this world can be agreed. Mr. Butler was fully aware that all the clauses of the Act could not be put into operation immediately and by his description of the day on which the first of its proposals became effective as "D Day in

education," he negatived the idea that it would be a final solution for all the problems of national education.

The Education Act of 1944 is officially designated, "An Act to reforms, *i.e.* to reshape, the law relating to education in England and Wales." Thus its avowed aim is that of a complete overhaul and the creation of a national policy in education. In Part I of the Act the deficiencies of the Board of Education are remedied. The department is raised in status to that of a Ministry and its head is the Minister of Education, "whose duty it shall be to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose, and to secure the effective execution by local authorities, under his control and direction, of the national policy for providing a varied and comprehensive educational service in every area." The term "promote" is important since it emphasises that the initiative comes from the Ministry. The appointment of the Parliamentary Secretary and other officers of the Ministry is in the hands of the Minister, who has the power of fixing their remuneration subject to the consent of the Treasury. The Consultative Committee has disappeared, and in its place there are two Central Advisory Councils for Education, one for England and the other for Wales. The chairman and members are appointed by the Minister and he also nominates an official of the Ministry to be secretary of each Council. Each Council includes persons who have had experience of the statutory system of public education and persons who have had experience of educational institutions outside the State system. The latter members may be drawn from the public schools, universities, the professions, commerce or industry, or any other aspect of national life as the Minister thinks fit. The use of the term "persons" indicates that both men and women may be members. The term of office and retirement of members are regulated by the Minister and the conduct and procedure of meetings are determined by the Council. The Consultative Committee could advise only on matters referred to it, but the new Councils are not so restricted. They have the duty of advising the Minister upon matters concerned with the theory and practice of education as they think fit. In other words, while administration is the concern of the Ministry, the Advisory Councils give advice upon the actual content of education. This new departure approximates closely to the recommendations of the Bryce Commission.

The number of local education authorities has been reduced by the abolition of the Part III authorities. The present L.E.A.'s are the county councils and county borough councils. The 315 L.E.A.'s created by the Act of 1902 have now become 146 and the First Schedule of the Act provides a possibility of further reduction. Where it would be to the public advantage because of economy or increased efficiency, the Minister may order the areas of two or more councils to be combined through the establishment of a Joint Education Board which will be the L.E.A. for that district. As in 1902, the L.E.A. may delegate its functions to an education committee (except those of raising a rate or borrowing money). The majority of the members of an education committee must be members of the authority, but the committee should also include persons of experience in education and those who have special knowledge of the educational conditions of the locality.

Some critics urged that the members of the education committees ought to be directly elected. It was felt, however, that this course might reintroduce some of the unsatisfactory features of the School Boards. The same schedule also gave permission to any borough or urban district council which on June 30th, 1939, had a population exceeding 60,000 or which had not less than 7000 elementary school children on its rolls on March 31st, 1939, to prepare its own schemes to be submitted to the Ministry through the county education authority. Such an authority is known as an Excepted District. Some councils availed themselves of the option and claimed this status, *e.g.* Keighley in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

In counties a certain degree of decentralisation is permitted through the formation of Divisional Executive Committees with power to exercise on behalf of the L.E.A. certain functions concerned with primary and secondary education. The Minister may also agree to the delegation of functions relating to Further Education. The net result has been that excepted districts and divisional executives have taken the place of the Part III authorities without the power that the latter had of raising a rate or borrowing money. Circular 5, September 15th, 1944, provided details with regard to the constitution, functions, and procedure of divisional executives. It also settled the question of the admission of the Press to meetings of divisional executives by suggesting that the Press should be admitted unless, because of the nature of the business transacted, a special resolution was passed asking the representatives of the Press

to retire. Provision is also made for the settlement of disputes between the divisional executives and the county authority. In such cases of disagreement, the disputants have the right to appeal to the Minister whose decision is final.

The partnership between the central and local authorities is retained by the Act. This part of the Act, which came into operation on April 1st, 1945, makes it the duty of all local authorities to provide for their areas sufficient schools for primary and secondary education. Sufficient schools should be understood as not only sufficient in number but also in character and equipment "to afford for all pupils opportunities for education offering such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their different abilities and aptitudes, and of the different periods for which they may be expected to remain at school, including practical instruction and training appropriate to their respective needs." Reorganisation is now compulsory, since primary and secondary education must be provided in separate schools.

The permissive authority of the 1918 Act in regard to the establishment of nursery schools has now become the definite duty of providing such schools or classes where they are needed. Children suffering from disability of mind or body must have education in special schools by special methods appropriate for persons suffering from that disability. L.E.A.'s are also to have regard to arranging boarding accommodation "either in boarding schools or otherwise, for pupils for whom education as boarders is considered by their parents and by the authority to be desirable."

It should be noted that these clauses are mandatory so that the relations between the central and local authorities are explicitly stated. The Act of 1918 put the initiative on the local authorities; in the Act of 1944 the initiative is taken by the Ministry. During the period following 1918, the policy of the Board of Education was one of decentralisation and as a consequence the scope and power of the local authorities had increased to an enormous extent. This period may justly be termed the Age of Directors. In many cases, the office of Clerk or Secretary to the Education Committee had been changed to that of Director of Education. The directors were expert and able administrators and frequently men of outstanding personality and ability. In some districts, the policy of the L.E.A. was that of the director, and the growth of local autonomy had become such that the education authorities tended to become

states within the State.¹ The present tendency is to replace the title of Director by that of Chief Education Officer. The Act of 1944 tightens the control of the Ministry over the local authorities, but at the same time the latter are left with a considerable amount of freedom and initiative. Hence, reorganisation is not left until the local authority chooses to make a move. By April 1st, 1946, every authority was instructed to make a survey of the immediate and prospective needs of its area in regard to primary and secondary education and to submit its development plan to the Ministry. Authorities who were slow in making a start were reminded of the displeasure of the Ministry. The development plans are drawn up in relation to the statutory system of education, which is organised in three progressive stages of primary, secondary, and further education, and it is the duty of each L.E.A. to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental, and physical development of the community by securing efficient education at each stage throughout its area. Thus the views expressed by the Hadow and Spens Reports have been given official sanction, and the term "elementary," long out of date, has now disappeared. The managers and governors of Voluntary schools are consulted before development plans are submitted for the Ministry's approval. When the Minister has approved the development plan, he will issue a local education order by which it is given statutory force. The development plans for certain areas have already received the Ministry's approval.

The agreement entered into under that Act are honoured and provided schools of the Act of 1902 are replaced by the titles, County and Voluntary schools, respectively. The Voluntary schools fall into three groups, primary and secondary schools being represented in each group. The smallest class numerically consists of Special Agreement schools which had been sanctioned by the Act of 1936.

The agreements entered into under that Act are honoured and may be carried into effect. Aided schools are those in which the governors or managers have agreed to meet 50 per cent. of the costs of improvements or alterations to the school buildings to bring the school into conformity with the building regulations of the Ministry, and also make themselves responsible for 50 per cent. of the cost of indoor repairs. The remainder of the cost will be met by the

¹ In the north of England, the directors of certain local authorities were known amongst teachers as the "Big Four."

L.E.A. The aided school retains its right to give denominational instruction according to the trust deed of the school, and its managers and governors have the power of appointing their own teachers. If the governors or managers are unable or unwilling to contribute 50 per cent. of the cost of the necessary improvements, the school will become controlled. In this case, the maintenance of the school passes into the hands of the L.E.A. Two-thirds of the governors or managers will be appointed by the L.E.A., the denominational instruction will be limited to two periods a week and will be given by reserved teachers, and the remainder of the religious instruction will be based on an agreed syllabus. The managers, however, will be consulted as regards the appointment of the head teacher.

So far these different categories have barely come into existence. When the governors or managers of a Voluntary school are informed by the Ministry of the approval of the development plan for the area, they will have to declare within six months whether they wish the school to be aided or controlled. If they prefer the former they must satisfy the Minister that they are both able and willing to defray their portion of the expenses for alterations and improvements. Meanwhile, the Voluntary schools continue to be transitionally assisted.

The religious denominations will, therefore, be called upon to make a decision which will involve serious financial responsibilities and have far-reaching consequences. Church of England schools, being by far the most numerous of the Voluntary schools, may be considered as an example. When the consent of the Church to this arrangement was obtained, there was no information available as to the demands which might be made by the new building regulations. Acquiescence closely resembled the signing of a blank cheque. When the building regulations were issued, it was seen that the standards were immeasurably higher than before, so that very few Church schools, if any, would be considered adequate. This would mean, in nearly all cases, alterations and improvements of a drastic nature, to be undertaken when building costs are extremely high. In a great many cases, the site of the school forbids any extensive alterations and the only solution is to rebuild the school on another site. When a school is rebuilt on another site because the former is inadequate, or when, because of the movement of population, the new school is in a different area, the new building is known as a transferred school. The cost of a transferred

school will no doubt deter most managers from claiming aided status. The old building remains the property of the managers and in making their decision they will have to take into account the saleable value of the school (which will vary greatly according to the locality) and the possibility of obtaining a loan from the Ministry under clause 105 of the Act. In considering the question of a loan to the governors or managers, the Minister will consult the diocesan finance and education council. The diocesan authority or the managers would presumably be required to furnish adequate security and the first instalment for repaying the loan would have to be made not later than five years from the advance of the loan. Most diocesan authorities have by now decided upon the number of schools they will be able to maintain. The future result will be a definite decrease in the number of denominational schools and nearly all the aided and special agreement schools will be primary schools.¹

The management of primary and the government of secondary schools are to be conducted under an instrument of management or government. The Act furnishes details of the constitution of managers and governors of County and Voluntary primary and secondary schools and gives power to a local authority to group two or more County or Voluntary schools under a single governing body. Thus in Leeds, the governors of each secondary grammar school form the governing body for one or more additional secondary schools, usually secondary modern. In the West Riding, primary schools are grouped for management purposes.

The rules governing the appointment and dismissal of teachers in County and Voluntary schools contain the following significant item. "No woman shall be disqualified for employment as a teacher in any County or Voluntary school or be dismissed from such employment by reason only of marriage."

¹ The Bishop of London, in an article contributed to the *Church Times* of March 5th, 1948, writes: "We in the London diocese are affected by two authorities, the London County Council and the Middlesex County Council. The plan of the former has just been issued, and that of the latter is expected shortly. Fortunately, the Diocesan Board of Education has had close contact with these authorities, and has come to a general agreement with them about the schools we should desire to keep and the new ones we should want to build. If the plans go through, we shall have fewer schools than before the war—one hundred and seventy instead of two hundred and eighteen—but at least the new plans will be better adapted to present needs, and the new sites better fitted to meet the new shifts of population. Most of the hundred and seventy schools for which we are asking will be primary schools, and we are anxious they should be 'aided' schools, that is to say, Church schools in the full sense."

For the first time, religious worship and religious instruction, subject to the usual conscience clauses, have become compulsory in every County and Voluntary school. Every school day must begin with an act of collective worship attended by all the pupils (except in schools without an assembly hall, where worship may take place in the classrooms). No form has been prescribed for the act of worship, except that in County schools it must not be distinctive of any religious denomination. Religious instruction is to be given in all schools and may be at any time during the school session instead of being restricted to the beginning or the end of the session.

In County schools the religious instruction must be given in accordance with an agreed syllabus, and no teacher is obliged to take part in it if he does not wish to do so. The first agreed syllabuses appeared in the decade following the conclusion of the First World War. The earliest was the Cambridgeshire Syllabus in 1924, and its issue was followed by a number of other syllabuses prepared for the larger education authorities. Experience in the use of the syllabuses showed that the teachers would welcome more detailed guidance in regard to methods of presentation, illustrations, books, and background material than the first syllabuses provided. Accordingly, most authorities revised their syllabuses and reissued them in a considerably enlarged form. The raising of the school-leaving age and the retention of pupils in some types of secondary schools to 18 and the compulsory part-time attendance at county colleges to that age, have necessitated further revisions.

The Fifth Schedule of the Act of 1944 details the procedure for bringing into operation an agreed syllabus. The L.E.A. is instructed to convene a Conference consisting of representatives of the Church of England, other religious denominations, the teachers' associations, and the local authority. The Conference may decide to recommend the adoption of an agreed syllabus issued by another authority or it may be in favour of a syllabus specially prepared for the area. In voting, each of the four panels constituting the Conference has one vote, so that the members of each panel must recommend unanimously and Conference as a whole must be unanimous in its recommendation. If the Conference cannot agree or if the authority fails to adopt a syllabus, the Minister himself will appoint a Conference to prepare a syllabus.

Many ardent denominationalists have described agreed syllabuses as colourless productions, but a study of several recent syllabuses will show how mistaken such an idea is. During the past 20 years

there has been a growing dissatisfaction with mere Scripture teaching and the view has been developed that it is the duty of the school to place before its pupils a rational statement of Christian belief, suited of course to their age and abilities, and presented in such a manner as to be in close contact with their own problems of daily life. Most agreed syllabuses now attempt to present the fundamentals of the Christian Faith and do so with considerable effectiveness. In spite of our unhappy differences, it is astonishing how great is the agreement on many fundamentals and it is quite a fair statement to say that nine-tenths of Christian teaching is common to all the different denominations.

Denominational teaching in Voluntary schools is to be inspected, as in the past, under arrangements made by the religious denominations, but in County Schools, for the first time in our history, religious instruction will be inspected by H.M. inspectors. This should not fail to enhance the importance of religious education in the eyes of pupils and teachers alike. The problem for some years to come will be that of obtaining sufficient teachers who are both willing and suitably qualified to give such instruction. The Ministry holds vacation courses for teachers of this subject, and in most training colleges and university training departments, voluntary courses for students have been offered dealing with both the content and method of religious education. Evening courses, correspondence courses, certificates, and diplomas have been established to meet the need, and the Institute of Christian Education is responsible for refresher courses and lectures for teachers and others interested in religious education. All these efforts should have an appreciable effect in raising the quality of religious instruction in our schools.

A most important provision of Part II of the Act is that which raises the school-leaving age. Originally it was intended to raise the school-leaving age to 15 on April 1st, 1945, but shortage of teachers and lack of accommodation postponed this for two years. As soon as conditions render it practicable, the school-leaving age will become 16.

The continuation schools of the Fisher Act are to be revived, and this section of the Act is to come into force three years after Part II is in operation. The name "Continuation School" was changed to that of Young People's College, since it was thought that the change of title would render these institutions more attractive. It was pointed out in the House of Lords that young people have a distinct aversion to that name, and the happier phrase, County

College, was adopted. It will be the duty of each L.E.A. to establish county colleges for part-time education of those pupils of 16 years of age who do not remain at the secondary school or attend an institution for higher education. Every young person not exempted from this provision will receive a college attendance notice directing him to attend at a county college. The minimum attendance until 18 years of age will be 330 hours a year, arranged as half-days, whole days, or continuous periods, as is most convenient. Suggestions in regard to the curriculum of the college are given in the Ministry's pamphlet No. 3, *Youth's Opportunity*, 1945.

In accordance with the view that secondary education is a stage in the education of every child, all fees were abolished in maintained schools from April 1st, 1945. When established, county colleges will be free. Fees may be charged for pupils who receive board and lodging at a school or college, but where financial hardship can be proved, part or whole of the fees may be remitted. Thus parents who wish their children to obtain the benefits of a boarding school education will be enabled to do so.

Fees were, however, retained in Direct Grant schools. In 1926, grant-aided schools not maintained by L.E.A.'s were given the option of receiving grant direct from the Board of Education instead of through the L.E.A. Quite a number of schools availed themselves of this arrangement.¹ Direct Grant schools were required to offer a certain number of their places to ex-elementary school pupils. A similar option was given to certain independent day schools working with schemes under the Endowed Schools Act. When this section of the 1944 Act became operative, schools were asked to re-submit claims to be considered as Direct Grant schools. Some of these claims were not admitted even when the school had previously enjoyed Direct Grant status.² Some schools which had sufficient endowments, declined the offer of Direct Grant, and by raising their fees, were able to continue as independent schools. Thus Bradford and Wakefield Grammar Schools accepted Direct Grant status, but Leeds Grammar School and Leeds Girls' High

¹ The Fleming Report gives the following statistics for 1942:—

	<i>No. of Schools</i>	<i>No. of Pupils</i>
Maintained schools .. .	793	303,986
Aided schools . . .	381	124,535
Direct Grant schools . .	232	85,681
Totals . . .	1,406	514,202

² e.g., Archbishop Holgate's School, York.

School preferred to become independent. Although the decision to retain Direct Grant schools has been criticised in some quarters as conferring privileges on certain sections of the community, education will probably benefit from this action. The maintained schools have discovered what it involves to be deluged with forms and returns, and many head teachers complain that preoccupation with administrative details is drawing them away from the really important aspects of school life and turning them into almost pure administrators. One solution will be to provide head teachers with more clerical assistants and other helpers. The heads of the Direct Grant and independent schools are spared a great deal of the "red tape" and consequently will have more time and freedom to experiment in different directions.

The Act requires each L.E.A. to establish and develop facilities for school camps, playing fields, swimming baths, gymnasia, and other forms of recreation. They are empowered to provide clothes and books for children, but the cost may be recovered from parents who can afford to pay. The school medical services and treatment are extended and the continuation and extension of school meals and milk are provided for. In 1943, nearly one-third of elementary school pupils and over one-half of secondary school pupils were receiving meals. Three-quarters of elementary school and two-thirds of secondary school pupils were being supplied with milk.

Part III of the Act, which is to become law on an appointed day, contains a provision that has been needed for more than a century. The Minister will appoint a Registrar of Independent Schools who will keep a register of them. They will also be open to inspection. Certain schools which had been recognised as efficient secondary schools and some preparatory schools which had previously been open to inspection, are exempted from registration. This part of the Act is chiefly concerned with private adventure schools. Any of the latter, which by reasons of inadequate buildings or unqualified staff, or through other causes, are found to be inefficient, may be removed from the register. The proprietor will have the right of appeal to an Independent Schools Tribunal consisting of a chairman appointed by the Lord Chancellor from the legal profession and two other members appointed by the Lord President of the Council from persons who have had teaching or administrative experience. Officials, either of the Ministry or of an education authority, are not eligible for appointment.

Part IV of the Act is concerned with general principles, administration and financial provisions, and Part V with various supplementary matters. The governing principle of the Act is stated: "so far as is compatible with efficient instruction and training and with the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure, pupils are to be educated in accordance with the wishes of their parents." Power is given to L.E.A.'s to defray the expenses of children attending school as may be necessary for them to take part in school activities, *e.g.* cost of transport to inter-school matches. L.E.A.'s may also pay the fees of pupils sent to fee-paying schools by the local authorities, grant scholarships and assist the conduct of educational research. In addition, they have authority to expend reasonable sums in contributing to the cost of educational conferences and may make grants to universities and university colleges.

Finally, the Burnham Committees are maintained. They are reconstituted as a Main Committee to deal with the salaries of teachers in primary and secondary schools and county colleges, and a Technical Committee concerned with teachers in technical schools and colleges.

The Act of 1944 constitutes the greatest single advance made in the development of English education. For the first time, the country has been given the plan of a fully co-ordinated system of national education, arranged in the three successive stages of primary, secondary, and further, education. Whilst giving full praise to the accomplishment of the Butler Act, it is well to remember that a large proportion of its provisions has yet to be implemented, and the fate of the Fisher Act still has its lesson for us. The Act has not solved all our educational problems. At the present time, the country is in a stage of educational transition. The Ministry has already approved some of the development plans, but acute difficulties are being faced, especially in those districts which were tardy in carrying out the Hadow reorganisation. Local authorities are struggling with problems of accommodation and staffing. Serious difficulties in regard to building programmes are likely to be experienced for some time to come owing to shortage of materials. These are certain to delay the construction of new schools beyond the dates previously anticipated and the rising costs of building are robbing the estimated expenditure of its meaning. The chief difficulty at the moment is the increased number of children needing school places due to the upward movement of the birth-rate during the war and the extension of the school-leaving

age to 15. These two factors have added nearly a million children to the school population. Local authorities are making desperate attempts to cope with accommodation problems and are employing every possible form of improvisation, from making use of Army huts and camps to increasing the size of classes and closing nursery classes in order to provide accommodation for infants.

During the war, various estimates were made in regard to the number of teachers who would be required for the reorganised national schools. The Government decided that 70,000 was the minimum number and it was hoped to obtain the bulk of the new teachers from the Services and from men and women who had been employed in other types of national service. In 1943, the Emergency Training scheme was launched and in co-operation with L.E.A.'s, arrangements were made to open training colleges in different parts of the country. Most of the suitable buildings were occupied by the Services, but as the demands of the latter decreased, more colleges came into operation. The emergency training college offered a one-year course of intensive training and after its completion the student was required to follow a course of directed reading to improve his academic background. Many head teachers have warmly praised the enthusiasm, character, and personality of these new entrants to the profession. The chief criticisms of the scheme are that the period of training is unduly short and that in some cases the academic background of the teachers is sketchy, a fault which it is hoped can be remedied by the provision of suitable refresher courses at a later date. However, in spite of the Emergency scheme, the supply of teachers, especially women teachers in nursery and infant schools, is a matter of grave concern.

One criticism of the Butler Act is that it accepted without question the recommendations of the Hadow Report as regards the clean break at 11+. This had been severely criticised by many well-known educationists and psychologists on the ground that it is not possible at such an early age to ascertain with any exactitude the special interests, aptitudes, and abilities, of children. It should be noted in this connection that the Scottish Advisory Council has recommended the age of 12+ for transfer, which fits in with the practice followed in many parts of Scotland.

The Butler Act has nothing to say about the organisation of the different forms of secondary education. Most local authorities have chosen the tripartite arrangement of secondary grammar, secondary technical, and secondary modern schools, each housed in

a separate building. A few authorities, including the L.C.C. and the West Riding of Yorkshire, have decided in favour of the multi-lateral school which to be effective must contain at least 1200 pupils. The motive for this choice is said to be the conviction that by accommodating all the different types of pupils in one building, a breaking down of class distinctions will follow and the ideal of social unity will be achieved. Many educationists believe that it is premature to come to a conclusion until further experience of the different types has been gained and that the more rational procedure would be to experiment with different organisations and to form one's policy in the light of the knowledge so acquired.

The problems connected with the training of teachers and the relations between the State system and the independent schools outside it were the fields of reference of two committees specially appointed for the purpose. The first, under the chairmanship of Sir Arnold McNair, was concerned with the training of teachers and youth leaders, and reported in 1944. Until 1930, the examination of training college students had been conducted by the Board of Education, but in that year a new policy was adopted. The colleges were organised in groups, each of which was established round its appropriate university or university college. Joint Examination Boards were established, each consisting of representatives of the university and the colleges concerned. It was hoped that this scheme would bring about a closer relationship between the universities and the training colleges. The Joint Board was responsible for the examination of students, the Board of Education continuing to examine in practical teaching, physical training, and other practical subjects, where desired by the university. Boards of Studies, on which both universities and training colleges were represented, were constituted to frame syllabuses and nominate examiners. The McNair Committee felt that the Joint Board system had not brought about any great degree of co-operation between the training colleges and the universities or between the colleges themselves. The Committee suggested the appointment of a Central Training Council for England and Wales consisting of from three to five members and having the duty "of advising the Board of Education about bringing into being that form of area training service recommended in this Report which the Board may decide to adopt."¹

On the question of the method of integrating the institutions responsible for the training of teachers in each area, the members

¹ Report on *Teachers and Youth Leaders*, p. 143, H.M.S.O., 1944.

of the Committee were equally divided, and alternative schemes were suggested. The first, now generally known as Scheme "A," envisaged the setting up of University Schools of Education, and those who supported this alternative admitted that this involved a "major constitutional change" in the organisation and administration of the education and training of teachers. The institution of University Schools or Institutes of Education "will demand of the universities a richer conception of their responsibility towards education: it will also involve additional staff, both teaching and administrative. On the other hand, we are not proposing that the universities should burden themselves with detailed administration, but rather that they should accept responsibility for the general supervision of the training of teachers and that in that task they should have the active partnership of those already engaged in the work and of others who ought to be engaged in it" ¹

The majority of the universities favoured Scheme "A," but since conditions in them varied considerably, minor differences naturally exist in the set-up adopted. The general plan has been to constitute a University Institute of Education for the purpose of co-ordinating in the university's area the provision for the training of teachers and to promote and provide facilities for study and research in education. The Institute supersedes the Joint Board and is responsible for awarding certificates in education of the Institute to candidates of the member institutions who have satisfied the examiners and for recommending each successful candidate to the Ministry for the award of the status of "qualified teacher." Some Institutes also administer schemes for the award of a higher qualification to mark the successful conclusion of a further period of professional training. In order to integrate the training and educational activities of the area, most Institutes are housed in a suitable building equipped with libraries and conference rooms. When desirable, interchange both of teachers and of individual students or groups of students between member institutions can be arranged, so that the resources of the university and the other member institutions form a pool that can be utilised when and how required.

Some universities were seriously concerned about the major constitutional change involved in adopting Scheme "A" and preferred a modified form of Joint Board system, which has

¹ Report on *Teachers and Youth Leaders*, p. 50.

come to be known as Scheme "B." In this arrangement, the university department of education and the training colleges would continue their separate identity, but their work would be co-ordinated by a Joint Board.

The McNair Committee were deeply concerned with measures for the recruitment and supply of teachers for the post-war years and the following recommendations were made. The advantages and prospects of the teaching profession ought to be presented to older pupils in all types of secondary school. Men and women of mature years should be encouraged to enter the profession and, if accepted, their initial salaries should be based on their age and previous experience. The conditions of service should be improved and the salaries of teachers in primary and secondary schools should be substantially increased. There should be a basic salary scale for all qualified teachers and the possession of special qualifications and experience should be recognised by suitable additions to the minimum and maximum salaries. Allowances for posts of special responsibility ought to be more widely distributed than at present and the Board of Education should recognise only one grade of teacher, namely the grade of "qualified" teacher.¹ The "Pledge" system, under which entrants to training colleges or universities declared that it was their *bona fide* intention to take up teaching as a profession, should be discontinued as soon as possible and the normal course at a training college should be extended to three years. Although many experienced educationists thought that the four-year university course ought to be extended, the Report was not in favour of this.²

The McNair recommendations regarding salaries were considered by the Burnham Committees and their reports were approved by the Minister. A new scale of salaries came into force on April 1st, 1945. A single basic salary for all qualified teachers was introduced irrespective of the type of school in which they taught, and additional allowances were granted for special qualifications and experience. Although the initial salaries were substantially increased, considerable dissatisfaction was expressed by graduate teachers and heads of grammar schools, who felt that their special qualifications and experience were insufficiently rewarded. The salary scale has undergone a further revision and certain concessions have been made to graduate teachers, but there is still a strong feeling that

¹ Report on *Teachers and Youth Leaders*, p. 142.

² *Ibid.*, p. 145.

the rewards of the teaching profession are inadequate to attract the best type of entrant and that many graduates, especially highly qualified science teachers, will leave the schools for industry. The revised scale came into operation on April 1st, 1948.

The relations between the State system and the schools outside it were the object of consideration of the Fleming Committee, which presented its report on the Public Schools and the General Educational System in 1944. During the war period the public schools had been the subject of much criticism, some justifiable but much of it misinformed. The most general criticism was that the public schools had little contact with the State system and ought to be brought into line with it. As Professor Barnard says, the public schools form "a closed private system, running parallel with the national system but having few points of contact with it."¹

In the earlier chapters of this book, the reasons for the separate development of the public schools were given, but the divergence between them and the State schools became accentuated during the 19th century. The age of entry to the public schools became settled at 13 whereas, owing to the influence of the Hadow Report, the break between primary and secondary education was fixed at 11+. Because of the importance assigned by tradition to the Classics, the general curriculum of the public schools is not completely parallel with that of the State grammar schools. Again, because of the later age of entry to the public schools, a large number of preparatory schools have developed. The preparatory schools accept pupils at the age of 8 upwards and prepare them for the Common Entrance Examination which was established in 1903. Most of the preparatory schools are in private hands, but a few public schools, such as St. Paul's, have their own preparatory establishments. The difference in the method of preparation for entry to the two types of school accentuates the gulf between them.

On the other hand, the division between the two systems is not so complete as may seem at first glance. Both types of school enter their pupils for the School and Higher School Certificate Examinations, and both compete for open scholarships at the universities. Although the public schools are controlled by independent governing bodies, quite a number have representatives of publicly elected authorities on their boards of governors. Some are also subject to schemes prepared by the Charity Commissioners,

¹ H. C. Barnard. *A Short History of English Education, 1760-1944*, p. 282.

whose educational functions have been taken over by the Ministry of Education, and nearly all the schools are open to inspection. The public schools have influenced the State schools in many ways, *e.g.* in the development of organised games, the prefect and house systems, the experiments of Sanderson at Oundle, and the work of Dr. Rouse and his colleagues at the Perse School, Cambridge. In spite of criticism, the popularity of the public schools has not declined, as is evidenced by the founding of new schools such as Stowe and Canford in 1923, and Bryanston in 1928.

Much of the criticism follows the line that their closed system is only open to the sons of the well-to-do and that, in public and industrial life, too great a share of the senior appointments is given to ex-public school boys. In short, the existence of a number of schools which charge high fees is a contradiction in a democratic community.

It is, however, a mistake to speak of the public schools as though they all conformed to one pattern. In fact, the public schools present a large variety of types and thus sweeping generalisations about them are apt to give an erroneous impression. The criticism that owing to their high fees very few pupils from the State schools can enter them is a case in point. It is a generalisation, true of some schools but not of others. Thus a large proportion of boys at Christ's Hospital have always come from the elementary schools; at Rendcombe College, in Gloucestershire, nearly half the pupils were admitted on the results of the special place examination, and at Giggleswick nearly a third of the scholars come from the locality and are admitted on the results of a scholarship examination. Many people believe that the existence of a small number of fee-paying schools is a strength rather than a weakness in a democratic State by providing a variety of types and giving a freedom of experiment that is more difficult to achieve under the State system. They also urge that if parents are willing to save in order to provide for their children the type of education they wish them to have, there is no reason why they should not be permitted to do so. Thus, Donald Hughes writes, "The Public School system is part, and no insignificant part, of that decent British life and society which has been slowly and patiently built up, and I cannot believe that we shall allow it to be swept away in the days when our need for enlightened and effective education will be so urgent. We shall want, in future, not fewer, but more and better

Public Schools.”¹ Mr. E. H. Partridge, the Headmaster of Giggleswick, claims that the typical public boarding school is a truly democratic institution representing a wider cross-section of the public than any other type of school and that it reconciles and abolishes class distinctions rather than perpetuates them.² The unfortunate point about the controversy is that political considerations seem to have greater weight than educational ideals.

The Fleming Report stated the belief of the Committee “that the education given by the Public Schools includes elements of very high educational value, especially but not entirely on the boarding side. It would, therefore, be wrong to destroy them as the more extreme of their critics desire (by the appropriation of their endowments and the diversion of their buildings to other purposes) or to refuse to associate them in any way with the general system of education, provided that the number of boys admitted to them from Primary Schools is sufficient to avoid the dangers which have been discussed,” e.g. the fear that boys from poorer homes would not be able to adjust themselves.³ The Committee believed that opportunities of education in such schools should be made available to boys and girls capable of profiting from them, irrespective of the income of their parents. It was recommended that the Board of Education should compile a list of associated schools, and that the terms of admission to the list and the conditions under which they would work should be of two types, described respectively as Scheme “A” and Scheme “B.” Both schemes should apply equally to boys’ and girls’ schools. Scheme “A” schools would mainly consist of the Direct Grant schools. To be accepted as associated schools they would be required either to abolish tuition fees or “to grade them according to an approved income scale which shall provide for total remission if a parent’s income requires it.”⁴ L.E.A.’s should have the right to reserve at such schools a number of places, day and boarding, for pupils for whom they are responsible. The number of local places should be settled between the governors and the L.E.A.’s with reference to the Board of Education if necessary, and the L.E.A.’s should pay to the school the cost of tuition and boarding at the approved rate for all pupils they send. The Board of Education would pay direct grant for the remainder of the pupils.

¹ Donald Hughes. *The Public Schools and the Future*, p. 71, C.U.P., 1942.

² E. H. Partridge. *Freedom in Education*, Faber and Faber, 1943.

³ *The Public Schools and the General Educational System*, p. 56, H.M.S.O., 1944.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

Scheme "B" would apply to "such Boarding Schools or schools taking a substantial number of boarders as the Board may accept, being schools recognised by the Board as efficient and not being conducted for private profit."¹ The Board of Education would grant bursaries to qualified pupils who had been educated for at least two years at a grant-aided primary school to enable them to proceed to such a boarding school. The amount of the bursaries would be graded according to an approved income scale with total remission where necessary. It was recommended that the number of bursars should not be less than 25 per cent. of the school's annual admissions and that the admission schemes should be reviewed every five years. As in Scheme "A," L.E.A.'s should be empowered to reserve places at particular schools for pupils from their areas. Parents desiring a bursary would apply through the L.E.A. to the Board of Education and candidates would be interviewed by a Regional Interviewing Committee of four persons, one of whom would be the head of the associated school, another the head of a primary school and the third a member or officer of a L.E.A.

The Fleming Report was so patently a compromise that it failed to satisfy the extremists on either side and its value consists in indicating a possible way by which the relations between the public schools and the national system might be developed and strengthened. The State secondary schools were obviously not content with a proposal whose implementation would deprive them of some of their most promising pupils.

This brief sketch of post-war education would not be complete without a reference to two important social developments which are having a profound influence upon English education. One is the development of the Youth Service and the other, the Curtis Report which has resulted in the Children Bill of 1948.

The Youth Service, like so many of the important movements in this country, began with voluntary effort. Space forbids all but the mention of the Y.M.C.A., founded in 1844, the Y.W.C.A. in 1853, the Boy Scout movement originated by Lord Baden-Powell in 1908, and the Girl Guides founded in 1910. All these voluntary organisations, together with youth clubs in connection with the churches, did most valuable work, but they only extended their influence to a section of the adolescent community. The State did not actively concern itself with young people above school age

¹ *The Public Schools and the General Educational System*, p. 101.

until the uneasy period between the two world wars. King George's Jubilee Trust was formed in 1935 and funds were accumulated for the purchase of playing fields. The Government began to make grants for physical training and the provision of recreational facilities, and in 1937, the National Fitness Council was formed to administer the money. This was merged into the National Youth Committee at the outbreak of war. The Board of Education Circular 1486 of 1939, emphasised that in spite of all that had been accomplished by voluntary organisations and the L.E.A.'s, the social and physical development of adolescents who had left school was being neglected. If the clauses of the Fisher Act dealing with continuation schools had been in operation, many of the problems would have been solved. The Circular recommended that L.E.A.'s should set up Youth Committees to survey, encourage, and co-ordinate the youth services in their areas. Existing voluntary organisations should be represented on the local committee. A further Circular (1503), issued in March, 1940, announced that the Board of Education was prepared to make grants covering 50 per cent. of the expenses incurred by L.E.A.'s in their youth services. In June, 1940, Circular 1516, entitled *The Challenge of Youth*, recognised the youth service as part of Further Education. The State declined to create a compulsory youth service and defined its function as one of filling the gaps by supplementing the resources of existing voluntary organisations. A later Circular (1577) of December, 1941, entitled *Registration of Youth*, dealt with boys and girls who became liable for registration by the Ministry of Labour and National Service. Boys and girls were interviewed by the Youth Committees of L.E.A.'s and those who were not already members of a youth organisation were urged to join one. They were also encouraged to take up some kind of pre-Service training.

Owing to the war, new types of pre-Service training were coming into existence. When Lord Haldane reorganised the Army and created the Territorial Force in 1907, the Officers Training Corps had been formed. It was divided into a Senior Division attached to universities and a Junior Division attached to certain public and secondary schools. Junior cadets were prepared for Certificate "A" and the seniors for Certificate "B." The aim of the O.T.C. was to provide officers for the Territorial Army and the Special Reserve. During the Second World War, the demand for officers was so great that the O.T.C. was reorganised and greatly extended. The two divisions became the Senior and Junior Training Corps respectively

and all university students who were of military age were compelled to join the S.T.C. The establishment was increased and students were given a preliminary training to enable them to pass eventually to an O.C.T.U. if they were suitable. Compulsory service ended in November, 1944, and as a consequence the numbers of the S.T.C. fell rapidly. The War Office recently announced its proposals to bring the S.T.C. (now the University Training Corps) into line with the new National Service scheme. On April 1st, 1948, the U.T.C. became an integral part of the Territorial Army and undergraduates who join are eligible for the same benefits and bounties as other members of the T.A.

The O.T.C. had been mainly restricted to undergraduates and the pupils of a small number of schools. The war greatly increased the demands for pre-Service training and, in 1941, the Air Training Corps was formed. This was followed by the institution of Sea Cadets and the Army Cadet Force. Similar pre-Service organisations were available for girls and at present the War Office is considering the revival of some of them. All these organisations were educational in so far as they gave attention to the social and recreative needs of their members.

The National Youth Committee was replaced by the Youth Advisory Council in 1942. The latter was created to advise on problems submitted to it by the Board of Education and also to bring new suggestions to the notice of the Board. One of the most important problems in connection with the Youth Service is the training of those who, for want of a better name, have been called Youth Leaders. This problem received special attention at the hands of the McNair Committee. The Report considered youth leaders under the broad classification of full-time workers, such as organisers, wardens, and heads of large institutions who received a salary, and part-time workers, who might be paid or unpaid. The contribution of voluntary workers was warmly praised and the Committee hoped that any augmentation of the numbers of the professional youth leaders would not diminish the assistance given by the voluntary workers. It was recommended that those preparing to take full-time posts should receive a three-year course of training. People who already possessed experience of the work might enter upon a shorter course, but in any case the course of training should not be less than a year. It was considered that there should be a close association between service in youth organisations and teaching. To achieve this, the suggestion was made

that the salaries of youth leaders should be comparable with those given in the teaching profession and that service should be pensionable. To enable a person to transfer from one service to the other, a linking of superannuation arrangements and the provision of short courses of training would be necessary.

For some time, public feeling had been shocked at the revelation of certain cases where children who had been boarded out under the care of foster-parents had lived under most unsatisfactory conditions. As a consequence, the Care of Children Committee under the chairmanship of Miss Myra Curtis was constituted and reported in 1946. The Committee inquired into the existing methods of providing for children who for various reasons had no home of their own and recommended legislation to ensure that they would be brought up under conditions which would compensate them for the lack of parental care. These children included those maintained by local authorities under the Poor Law Act of 1930, evacuated children who for some reason were unable to return home,¹ children brought before the courts as delinquents or in need of special care and protection, children cared for by voluntary organisations, those maintained by foster-parents, adopted children, handicapped children educated away from home, those orphaned by the war, and mentally defective children. Altogether, these classes included 124,900 children.

The Clyde Committee conducted a similar inquiry for Scotland. The recommendations of the two committees have been included in the Children Bill of 1948. The Bill lays upon the councils of counties and county boroughs in England and Wales, and of counties and large burghs in Scotland, the statutory duty of caring for every child under 17 without parents or guardians, or who has been abandoned or lost or whose parents are unable to provide for his upbringing. By making provision for children formerly dealt with under the Poor Law, the Bill is complementary to the National Assistance Bill which abolishes the Poor Law, and forms part of the new social legislation in operation from July 5th, 1948. Each local authority is required to appoint a Children's Committee and an approved officer to carry out the functions which devolve upon the Committee. The local authority should provide for a child in their care by boarding him out with

¹ On March 31st, 1946, there remained in the reception areas, 5,200 children unable to return home. Some are orphans; others have a parent or parents who cannot provide a home for them.

foster-parents, or where this is not practicable or desirable, by accommodating him in a home provided under the Bill or in a voluntary home. Local authorities will be empowered to provide children's homes in which there will be the necessary facilities for the observation of the physical and mental condition of the children. Regulations governing the conduct of homes will be made by the Home Secretary. The person in charge of a home, unless suitably qualified, must be approved by the Home Secretary. Already a course of one year has been arranged at universities to prepare 60 young women as supervisors and 100 women have been selected for training as house mothers. Local authorities are also empowered to open hostels for young persons between 15 and 21 who are or have been in the care of a local authority. The hostels will be close to the places where the young people are being employed or trained. Certain financial powers are given to local authorities for training or maintaining such young persons. The only persons liable to pay contributions towards the upkeep of these young people are the parents, whose liability will cease when the child reaches the age of 16.

The Bill includes important provisions affecting voluntary homes and organisations. Every voluntary home must be registered by the Home Secretary who can refuse or withdraw registration if he considers the home unsatisfactory. All homes are to be open to regular inspection, including that undertaken by local authorities. An Exchequer grant not exceeding 50 per cent. of the expenditure incurred by local authorities in discharge of their functions will be made. An Advisory Council on Child Care will assist the Home Secretary in his administration and there will be a separate Advisory Council for Scotland. The Home Secretary, the Minister of Education in England and Wales, and the Secretary of State in Scotland, are empowered to make regulations defining the spheres of responsibility of local authorities and L.E.A.'s.

The Bill is supported by all parties, though some minor administrative details have come in for criticism. It should be noted that, following the Curtis Report, a preference has been given to private foster-homes or small corporate houses rather than to larger institutions. The principle is that of providing a real home life for children who have no homes. Another feature of the Bill is the attention given to after-care by provision of hostels and the giving of financial assistance to those over 18 who need to complete their education and training.

To conclude this chapter, a reference must be made to the Report of the Secondary School Examinations Council, 1947. Its recommendations modify and extend the Norwood Report. They were based on the following principles: (a) All secondary school courses should be designed with appropriate variety of subjects and treatment to suit the ages, abilities, and aptitudes of the pupils. In the later years, the future careers of pupils should have some bearing on the courses provided. (b) Those children who can profit by an extension of full-time education should be encouraged to stay at school beyond 16. (c) The conception of "Sixth Form" work should be maintained and specialisation should never be premature or excessive.

It was recommended that on leaving school, each pupil should be provided with a school report giving the fullest information about him and his abilities and potentialities. Different types of objective tests should be given periodically and the results recorded in school records and used to guide pupils towards suitable courses of study or types of employment. Each school should carry out systematic internal examinations based on their courses of study. External examinations serve to maintain national standards and for pupils who do not need an external examination, some form of internal examination would be necessary.

External examinations for pupils who wish to compete for university scholarships or secure exemption from professional examinations should be taken as late as possible in their school career. They should also be accessible to candidates who have ceased to be full-time pupils at a secondary school.

An examination at Ordinary, Advanced or Scholarship levels should be available each year to candidates who are at least 16 on September 1st of that year. The Ordinary papers should provide a reasonable test in the subject for pupils who have taken it as a part of a wide and general course up to the age of 16 or for those who have studied the subject in a non-specialist way in the Sixth Form. The Advanced papers are for candidates who have taken the subject as a specialist study for two years in the Sixth Form. Scholarship papers should provide specially gifted pupils an opportunity for showing distinctive merit and promise. The group system should be abolished so that all subjects at all these levels should be optional. Satisfactory candidates will be awarded a General Certificate of Education on which will be recorded the subjects and the levels at which they satisfied the examiners. Once

the certificate has been granted, it can afterwards be endorsed for subsequent successes. No grant should be payable in respect of a candidate under 16 on September 1st in the year of examination. Ordinary and Advanced papers are not to be taken in different years, so that a single certificate is proposed in place of the present School and Higher School Certificates. The Pass in the Ordinary papers should be approximate to a Credit standard in the School Certificate, and a Pass at the Advanced level should be roughly equivalent to a Pass in the Higher School Certificate. The Council recommended that the examinations should be held at such a time as will enable the results to reach the Ministry of Education by August 1st. This would probably involve the holding of the examinations in May. The Ministry of Education approved the main recommendations of the Report and announced on April 26th, 1948, that the new system would be introduced by stages. The changes will be completed by 1951. The Minister agreed with the principle that external examinations should not be taken before the age of 17 but, until the number of pupils remaining at school after 17 has substantially increased, he has provisionally fixed the minimum age for candidates at 16. The Minister's decision has been severely criticised by members of the staffs of certain schools and universities, on the grounds that the minimum age requirement unduly handicaps the brilliant pupil who is ready to sit for the examination before he is 16.

In studying the Council's recommendations as regards internal and external examinations, the reader should compare them with the recommendations for the Scottish external examinations described in Chapter XV. It should be noted that the latter propose the abolition of the present Scottish scheme and the adoption of a School and a Higher School Certificate.

CHAPTER XII

ADULT EDUCATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Adult education, in the modern meaning of the term, did not exist before the closing years of the 18th century. It is true that in 1711 the S.P.C.K. recommended the establishment of evening schools for adults and that the Welsh Circulating Schools, about 1730, began to teach adults to read the Bible in Welsh. In addition, some of the Sunday Schools included adults amongst their scholars. Apart from these sporadic experiments, however, it was not until the industrial changes had made considerable progress that serious attempts were made to grapple with the problems of adult education.

The history of adult education falls into two well-marked periods, with the year 1850 as a convenient dividing point between them. Before that date, adult education was promoted solely by voluntary agencies. Three main factors influenced the line of development of adult education during this period. It began with what may be called a religious-philanthropic inspiration; it was greatly influenced in the early years of the 19th century by the growth of interest in physical science and, finally, its course was shaped by the social and political agitation which later found expression in Chartism. After 1850, changing social and economic conditions altered the whole outlook. Revolutionary agitation had ceased by 1848 and the country entered upon a period of rising wages and falling prices. Moreover, by this time two new agencies had entered the field of adult education. The universities were showing an interest in the movement and the State was concerning itself with the provision of primary education, and was later to take into account the sphere of further education. In the earlier period, the majority of adults had been untouched by primary education and the adult agencies had to make good that deficiency. As more schools were opened for the children, the education of adults tended to become an extension of primary education.

The religious-philanthropic movement was responsible for the foundation of the first adult schools, the earliest of which was opened at Nottingham in 1798 by William Singleton, a Methodist, and Samuel Fox, a member of the Society of Friends. The object

of the school was to teach adults to read the Bible and give them instruction in writing and arithmetic. The work of Hannah More and her sister has already been mentioned in connection with the philanthropic agencies of the 18th century. In 1812, a Methodist, William Smith, assisted by a merchant of the name of Stephen Prust, established at Bristol an "Institution for Instructing Adult Persons to read the Holy Scriptures." The movement spread rapidly, and within two years there were 54 schools in the city, and it was estimated that over 1000 persons had been taught to read. By 1820, similar schools had been opened at Plymouth, London, Yarmouth, Leeds, Sheffield, Ipswich, and in the rural districts of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire. The adult school movement was entirely due to the efforts of the religious denominations, in particular the Society of Friends. It met with opposition from many people who believed that education would make the working man discontented with his lot and lead him to accept the doctrines of the French Revolution.

The spirit of patronage so evident in the work of Hannah More was not absent from these later efforts, and was naturally resented by many working men. By 1850, the adult schools had almost come to an end, though they were to experience an astonishing revival towards the close of the century. The main reasons for their decline were the increasing numbers of primary schools, so that the need for teaching the three R's to adults was diminishing, and the influence of the political views after the Reform Act, which tended to divert the interests of the working population in other directions.

When the use of steam power and machinery became more widespread, factory owners who had previously been opposed to popular education began to encourage their workmen to take an interest in the machines they operated and the industrial processes in which they were engaged. They argued that this kind of learning would not encourage workmen to be dissatisfied with the station of life into which they had been called by a wise Providence. This explains the rapid progress of the Mechanics' Institutes in the first half of the 19th century.

The idea of the Mechanics' Institutes originated in Scotland. In 1760, Professor John Anderson, who taught natural philosophy in the University of Glasgow, gave some lectures in practical physics which were attended by a number of workmen. In 1799, Dr. George Birkbeck was appointed Professor of Natural Philosophy

and Chemistry in the "Andersonian Institution" at Glasgow. In the course of visiting the workshops where apparatus for his classes was being constructed, he was astonished to find that the workmen showed great interest in what they were making. This experience suggested to him the happy idea of inviting the men to a special mechanics' class. The university authorities were sceptical about its success and told him that the men would not come; if they came they would not listen, and if they listened they would not understand. The first meeting proved a great success. Those who came told others and, by the fourth meeting, the attendance had risen to 500. Birkbeck was astonished at the orderly behaviour and the keen interest shown by the students. In 1804, he left Glasgow for London, but his successor, Dr. Ure, continued the classes. Although Birkbeck practised in London as a physician, he still retained his interest in adult education, and he was the moving spirit behind the foundation of the London Mechanics' Institute which was opened in 1823. The same year, the workmen who attended the lectures in the "Andersonian University" at Glasgow seceded and founded a separate Mechanics' Institute. The Manchester Mechanics' Institute started in 1824, and this was followed by the rise of similar institutions at Leeds, Huddersfield, and other large industrial towns. Unions of Mechanics' Institutes followed, the first association being that of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

The Leeds Mechanics' Institute, at one time the largest in the country, is typical of the movement. The object of its foundation was "to supply at a cheap rate, to the different classes of the community, the advantages of instruction in the various branches of science which are of practical application to the various trades or occupations." Although the industries of Leeds involved many processes requiring a knowledge of chemistry, for a long time the response was poor. This was mainly due to the lack of elementary knowledge which prevented the students from getting full advantage from the scientific instruction. This was common to most Mechanics' Institutes and largely accounted for their decline after the middle of the century. In 1842 the number of students at Leeds had risen to 140, but by 1850 it had dwindled to 73. Another cause of the slow growth of the science class was the fact that it was housed "in a dark, damp, dingy cellar." The institute had other activities and included a reading room and library, but all works of fiction and general literature were excluded from the latter. To supply this "pleasurable mental relaxation," the Leeds Literary

Society was founded in 1834, and in 1842 the two institutions were amalgamated¹

Hudson, the historian of the early adult movement, estimated that in 1850 there were 610 Literary and Mechanics' Institutes in England having a membership of 102,050 and possessing 691,500 books in their libraries.² The movement was supported by the weekly issue of the *Mechanics' Magazine*, and such well-known advocates of popular education as Lord Brougham, Cobbett, and Place, did much to encourage it. The decline of the Leeds Institute was typical of what happened throughout the country after 1850. The Mechanics' Institutes were, however, an important step in the development of scientific and technical instruction. Some of them, as in London, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, developed into important technical institutes and colleges. The London Mechanics' Institute eventually became the Birkbeck College, and at Leeds, Huddersfield, Bradford, and other large centres, they developed into technical colleges. "Many of them, within a few years after their foundation, ceased to be Mechanics' Institutes in anything but name. . . . As the interest of the working class members flagged, 'Mechanics' ceased to join the 'Institutes,' and as the mechanics dropped out the middle class came in."³

The period from the end of the Napoleonic wars to 1848 is remarkable for the intense interest displayed by the masses of the people in social, economic, and political problems. The works of the Radical reformers, such as Tom Paine and Cobbett, were being widely read and discussed by groups of working men. The repeal of Pitt's repressive legislation had made the growth of the Trade Unions possible, but when they seemed to offer little hope of

¹ The Leeds Institute founded two schools for the sons and daughters of members, in 1845 and 1853 respectively. Fitch visited the schools as an assistant-commissioner of the Taunton Commission and spoke very highly of their work. Nevertheless, he reported, "The name 'Mechanics' does not fairly represent the social position of the persons who avail themselves of such institutions. It is not men of the labouring class, but the more intelligent shopmen, clerks, warehousemen, and travellers of a great town like Leeds, who compose the Mechanics' Institute. And it is for children of this class that the committee have made ample provision in their day schools." *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 245, H.M.S.O., 1868. These schools are now controlled by the Leeds Education Authority under the names of the Leeds Boys' Modern School and the Lawnswood High School. They represent, with their modern buildings and spacious playing fields, two of the most up-to-date grammar schools in the city.

² J. W. Hudson. *History of Adult Education*, Longmans, Brown, Green & Longman, 1851.

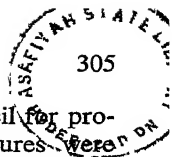
³ Ministry of Reconstruction. *Adult Education Committee (Final Report)*, p. 16, H.M.S.O., 1919

improvement in their conditions, working men pinned their faith to the prospect offered by Parliamentary reform. When they found that the Reform Act of 1832 had merely transferred political power to the middle classes, the workers sought guidance from other sources. Robert Owen attracted much attention and, on account of the emphasis he placed on education as a means of social regeneration, the large number of Owenite Societies of the 1830's made adult education one of their chief aims. The principal motive force, however, was not that of the Co-operative Societies, which had sprung up as the result of Owen's teaching, but the political agitation which was associated with Chartism. The ablest of the Chartist leaders was William Lovett. "Like his friends, Francis Place and Thomas Cooper, he was one of the workmen of whom it may be said that amid heart-breaking discouragements, poverty, and failing health and political persecution, the hunger for knowledge 'haunted them like a passion.'"¹ Lovett's views on education were expressed in his *Address on National Education*, 1837, in which he outlined an educational programme more than two generations in advance of his time. His proposals, with one exception, came to nothing in his life-time, but they were carried out by others at a later date.

In 1842, the first People's College was opened at Sheffield through the initiative of an Independent Minister, the Rev. R. S. Bayley, and the courses of study it provided, liberal and humanistic rather than scientific and utilitarian, reveal undoubted traces of Lovett's influence. This example was followed by the establishment of many similar institutions, two only of which have survived to the present day and have retained their original name and purpose—the Working Men's College in London and the Vaughan Memorial College at Leicester. The former was opened in 1854 in Red Lion Square, and was due to the efforts of F. D. Maurice, who has previously been mentioned in connection with the movement for the higher education of women. The London College is famous for its association with such great men as Charles Kingsley, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Lowes Dickenson, Tom Hughes, and John Ruskin.

The modern period in adult education opens with the development of University Extension, due to the inspiration of a young Scotsman, James Stuart, who had been lecturing in the North of

¹ Ministry of Reconstruction, *op. cit.*, p. 18.



England at the invitation of the North of England Council for promoting the Higher Education of Women. These lectures followed by an invitation from the Rochdale Co-operative Society to lecture to the members, and it was here that an incident occurred which suggested to Stuart the idea of University Extension work. "One day I was in a hurry to get away as soon as the lecture was over, and I asked the hall-keeper to allow my diagrams to remain hanging until my return next week. When I came back he said to me, 'It was one of the best things you ever did leaving up these diagrams. We had a meeting of our members last week, and a number of them who were attending your lectures were discussing these diagrams, and they have a number of questions they want to ask you, and they are coming to-night a little before the lecture begins.' About twenty or thirty intelligent artisans met me about half an hour before the lecture began, and I found it so useful a half-hour that during the remainder of the course I always had such a meeting."¹ In 1871, Stuart persuaded several bodies for whom he had lectured to appeal to the authorities of Cambridge University asking them to organise lecture centres. The idea was approved, and the first University Extension lecture courses were provided at Derby, Leicester, and Nottingham, in 1873. In 1876, the University of London formed its University Extension Society and Oxford made similar arrangements in 1878.

The University Extension movement was a curious combination of failure and success. From the point of view of working-class education, it was not an unqualified success. The cost of providing the lectures was heavy and the fees, though often reduced for them, were more than most working men could afford. This could not be remedied so long as the universities were left to bear the whole burden of the finance themselves. As the cost of the lectures had to be met by fees and local subscriptions, large audiences had to be attracted to make the courses self-supporting. In order to achieve this, the lectures had to have the widest possible appeal and this often led to superficiality. Moreover, the lectures tended to be discontinuous and unsystematic. It was not until University Extension courses became eligible for grants under the Adult Education Regulations of the Board of Education that this handicap was removed. Like the Mechanics' Institutes, the lectures began to appeal more and more to the middle classes and to provide them

¹ Quoted by Albert Mansbridge, *An Adventure in Working-Class Education*, p. 6, Longmans Green, 1920.

with the higher education which for many had hitherto been impossible.

University Extension had a most important influence in another direction. It was the origin of many of our modern universities and university colleges. Thus Firth College at Sheffield, 1879, and University College, Nottingham, were directly due to the extension work carried on in those cities. The Yorkshire College had been founded at Leeds, in 1874, as a science and technical college. An extension committee was formed in connection with Cambridge University, which, in 1877, transferred its work to the Yorkshire College of Science. As a consequence, literary studies became an integral part of the curriculum, and in 1878 the name of the institution was changed to that of the Yorkshire College. This, in turn, became a constituent college of the Victoria University, and in 1904, by Royal Charter, the University of Leeds was constituted. University College, Reading, was founded in 1892 as a University Extension college, and received its charter as the University of Reading in 1926. University College, Exeter, originated in the extension work carried on in that city by Cambridge University.

As University Extension developed, other forms of adult education appeared or were revived. From 1874 there was a steady revival of working men's colleges, many of these being due to the efforts of the Society of Friends. This was followed by the establishment of residential colleges, such as Woodbrooke, 1903; Fircroft, 1909; the Co-operative College, Manchester, 1919; Hillcroft College for Women at Surbiton, 1920; the Catholic Workers' College at Oxford, 1921; the Avoncroft College for Agricultural Workers at Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, 1925; and by educational settlements, such as Swarthmore at Leeds, 1909; St. Mary's at York, 1909; and the Homestead at Wakefield, 1913. Some of the educational settlements are closely linked with the universities. The pioneer settlement of this type is Toynbee Hall, opened in 1884 to commemorate the work accomplished by Arnold Toynbee in the East End of London.

In 1899, three Americans, Mr. and Mrs. Vrooman and Professor Beard, founded Ruskin College, Oxford, to give working-class students "a training in subjects which are essential for working-class leadership, and which are not a direct avenue to anything beyond." The idea of the founders was "to take men who have been merely condemning our institutions and teach them, instead, to transform

these institutions, so that in place of talking against the world they will begin methodically and scientifically to possess the world."

The initial confusion of aims led to dissatisfaction amongst the students and in 1909 those who had Marxist sympathies seceded to form the Labour College. The latter has now been closed, but the work is being carried on by the National Council of Labour Colleges. Because the Adult Education Regulations demand an unsectarian and non-political approach to studies, the Labour Colleges do not receive grants from the Ministry of Education. Ruskin College was reorganised in 1910 and its management is entirely in the hands of the Trade Unions and the working-class societies which support it. Wales had no adult residential college until the establishment of Coleg Harlech in 1927.

As University Extension was growing, the Co-operative movement developed its educational policy but, unfortunately, it suffered at first from the lack of clear ideas about the function of adult education. It is important, however, because, with University Extension and the Trade Unions, it was one of the factors which brought into being the Workers' Educational Association. The founder of the W.E.A. was Albert Mansbridge, whose idea was to bring together the Co-operative Societies, the Trade Unions, and University Extension. In 1879, Mansbridge was a clerk employed by the Co-operative Wholesale Society, and in a number of articles to the *Co-operative News* he ventilated his scheme for bringing about an active working partnership between the universities and the people. His fellow co-operators did not at first see eye to eye with him, but he persevered and in an article contributed to the *University Extension Journal* in January, 1903, he developed his plan. It received support from a number of working men, and later in the same year the Association to Promote the Higher Education of Working Men came into existence with Mansbridge as Honorary Secretary. This was the first national movement for adult education which worked in partnership with the universities and the national system of education.

In October, 1904, the first branch was formed at Reading, followed a few months later by the establishment of another at Rochdale. In 1905, the Association changed its name to the Workers' Educational Association. The movement spread rapidly. In 1906 there were 13 branches; in 1907, 47; and this number increased to 50 in 1908. The first W.E.A. district was Manchester. At the first national conference held in 1905, the W.E.A. resolved

to ask the Board of Education "how far and under what conditions employer and employed in their respective areas, would welcome legislation having for its ultimate object compulsory attendance at Evening Schools." ¹ A deputation from the W.E.A. was received by Sir Robert Morant and resulted in the publication of a report by the Consultative Committee of the Board of Education in 1909. This was one of the factors which led to the Day Continuation Schools of the Fisher Act.

William Temple (later Bishop of Manchester and Archbishop of Canterbury) attended this conference and became a wholehearted supporter of the W.E.A. Later, he was elected as the first president of the Association. At first, the W.E.A. adopted every kind of educational method until it found that which best suited the kind of work it was attempting. The idea of tutorial classes had been suggested by Canon Barnett as early as 1900, but the first was not formed until 1906, at Rochdale. The University Extension Committee at this town found themselves in difficulties and consulted Mansbridge, who asked Rochdale to obtain 30 students to attend for two years and write regular essays. In return, he promised the services of one of the foremost scholars in England. As a consequence, Mr R. H. Tawney was appointed tutor. A similar experiment was tried at Longton in Staffordshire, where Mr Tawney also acted as tutor. These were the first tutorial classes to be held in England and the experiment was made possible by means of a grant from New College, Oxford. This action had the strong support of Bishop Gore of Oxford and of Sir Robert Morant. The example of New College was followed by other Oxford colleges, and within a short space of time every university college in England and Wales was supporting tutorial classes. A permanent joint committee of the W.E.A. and the university was set up in each university and university college, and a central committee, known as the Central Joint Advisory Committee for Tutorial Classes, was established.

The next step involved the co-operation of the Board of Education, which for some time had been keenly interested in the movement. The Final Report of the Ministry of Reconstruction on Adult Education, published in 1919, recommended the granting of Government aid. This was followed in 1924 by the issue by the Board of Education of the Regulations for Adult Education. These

¹ Albert Mansbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

regulations have been amended and expanded several times since that date.¹

L.E.A.'s make contributions to the work of the W.E.A., and in some cases take full financial responsibility for the classes, e.g. the West Riding of Yorkshire and in Kent²

In 1947 there were nearly 900 W.E.A. branches in the country, federated into 21 districts. The total number of branch members was approximately 39,000, and about 100,000 men and women were attending classes. The latter represented a fair cross-section of the population. The statistics for 1946-47 show that 21 per cent. of students were manual workers, 16 per cent. clerks, draughtsmen, travellers, and foremen, teachers, Civil servants, and postal workers, 5 per cent. professional and social workers, and 26 per cent. engaged in home duties and nursing. The remainder consisted of students drawn from miscellaneous occupations and those whose occupation was not declared.³

The classes range from university tutorial classes of three years' duration, to short courses of six months to a year, and provide for a wide range of subjects. Economics, history, and literature are the most popular, though, in recent years, psychology has been much in demand. The tutorial class has 24 meetings each year, the usual duration of which is two hours. The first hour is usually a lecture period which is followed by a class discussion, or in classes studying science subjects, practical work. Subjects such as foreign languages, mathematics, etc., which are provided by L.E.A.'s in their evening institutes, are not encouraged in W.E.A. classes. Book boxes are supplied to classes, and students are encouraged to read and are required to do some written work.

During the late war, many W.E.A. classes were run under difficulties. The writer will never forget the experience of holding a class discussion in a cellar, while overhead, bombs were dropping and the barrage maintained by our anti-aircraft guns was deafening. The blackout created further difficulties for tutors and students who came from a distance, but the astonishing thing was the way in which most classes maintained their attendance. Since the war, attendance has been affected by the introduction of

¹ Some aid had previously been given by the Board of Education under the *Regulations for Technical Schools, Schools of Art, and other Forms of Provision for Further Education in England and Wales*, 1918

² The relations between the W.E.A., other agencies supplying adult education, and the L.E.A.'s was the subject of a special report *Adult Education and the Local Education Authority*, H.M.S.O., 1933.

³ *The Future in Adult Education*, pp. 11-12, W.E.A., 1947.

"staggered hours of work," but the Ministry of Education has taken account of this in its conditions for the award of grant.

Recently, most of the universities have reorganised their machinery for dealing with adult education in their areas. Extra-mural departments have been set up with a Director of Extra-mural Studies as the academic head and the work is usually organised by means of a Tutorial Class and an Extension Committee. Arrangements vary in different universities, but usually the two committees work under the general direction of an Extra-mural Board on which the university, the W.E.A., the L.E.A.'s, and other agencies supplying adult education are represented. The tutors, who are employed in a full-time capacity, have formed an Association of Tutors in Adult Education, and in many cases are represented on the Extra-mural Boards and Committees.

There have been two interesting developments in adult education in the period between the two wars. The first was the formation of the Cambridgeshire village colleges, which constitute at one and the same time schools for children, and educational, social, and cultural centres for adults, in the rural areas. The earliest of the centres was at Sawston, 1928, and owing to the active encouragement of Mr. H. Morris, County Education Secretary, and the Carnegie United Kingdom Trustees, they were extended to other districts in the county.

The other was in connection with the new housing estates built after the First World War, and was initiated by a conference held in 1929, at which the National Council of Social Service and other bodies were represented. The New Estates Community Committee (later the Community Centres and Associations Committee) was created with the object of providing community centres to promote a healthy social life on the new housing estates. In 1944, the Ministry of Education issued a pamphlet entitled *Community Centres*, in which it was stated that the general responsibility for the development of community centres now rested with the Ministry of Education and the L.E.A.'s. The centres themselves may be provided in a number of different ways, e.g. by a L.E.A. exercising its powers under sections 41 and 53 of the Education Act, 1944; by a local authority acting as a housing authority under section 80 of the Housing Act, 1936; by a local authority exercising its powers under the Physical Training and Recreation Act, 1937, or by voluntary effort aided by the L.E.A., the National Council of Social Services, or the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education,

in the pamphlet referred to above, expressed its opinion that it was desirable that all villages, especially those with a population over 400, should be provided with a village hall.

The Women's Institutes, which have been organised in a large number of villages, are an important educational influence in rural districts. During the last war they made a noteworthy contribution to the national effort. Each county has its own local federation of Women's Institutes, and these are united in the National Federation of Women's Institutes. In addition to social activities, they engage in various types of educational work, mostly of a practical character. They have also developed an interest among their members in music and drama. The National Federation issues each month its magazine, *Home and Country*, which includes a supplement dealing with the special activities of each county federation.

In urban districts, the Townswomen's Guilds perform functions similar to those of the Women's Institutes in rural areas. The individual guilds are federated in the National Union of Townswomen's Guilds. Members of the guilds are keenly interested in civics and social studies and in choral and dramatic activities. Classes providing instruction in handicrafts and homecrafts have a wide appeal.

✧ The agencies for the promotion of adult education are at the present day so numerous that space only allows naming some of the more prominent associations which place education more or less among their principal aims. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have always taken an important part in adult education and their activities in Forces education will be mentioned in the following chapter. Other voluntary bodies include the British Drama League, the Co-operative Guilds, the Welsh Eisteddfod and the English Folk Dance and Song Society. There are also a number of associations connected with the religious denominations, such as the Church of England tutorial classes, the Church of England Men's Society, the Mothers' Union, the Girls' Friendly Society, the Catholic Social Guild, the Brotherhood movement, and Men's Fellowships connected with the Free Churches.

A later comer in the field of adult education is the British Broadcasting Corporation. For some years, the B.B.C. had organised school broadcasts designed to meet the needs of both primary and secondary schools. Apart from entertainment, the B.B.C. has paid special attention to the interests of adult listeners, and the symphony concerts, recitals, and courses on musical appreciation

have done much to raise the standards of musical taste. The latest feature, the introduction of the Third Programme, should be a very potent educational stimulus to the more serious-minded among adults. The programme was designed "for the alert and receptive listener, who is willing first of all to make an effort in selection and then to meet the performer half-way by giving his whole attention to what is being broadcast." Broadcast lectures and discussions are able to penetrate to lonely parts of the country and to people living under conditions where the formation of ordinary classes would be impracticable.

The Arts Council of Great Britain developed from the war-time organisation known as C.E.M.A. (Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts), and it received a Royal Charter, August 9th, 1946. It aims at providing the public with increasing opportunities of enjoying, and the artist of practising, achievements of the highest standard in music, drama, and the plastic and graphic arts. It has 11 regional offices and separate committees for Scotland and Wales. One of its achievements has been the establishment of arts clubs in different parts of the country. The Council has also helped symphony orchestras to give concerts in industrial areas, arranged exhibitions in the visual arts and sponsored a large number of dramatic ventures. Its work is carried out through its Advisory Panels for Music, Art, and Drama.

Although the adult education movement may be said to have been born in Scotland through the work of Anderson and Birkbeck, yet the W.E.A. and University Extension in that country are of comparatively recent growth. Tutorial classes were not started in Edinburgh until 1913, and it was not until after the First World War that the universities gave serious attention to extra-mural activities. One reason for this late development is that until recently no grants were made for extra-mural education in Scotland by the Education Department, and classes could not receive aid from the local authorities unless they were organised by the School Boards (after 1918, by the Local Educational Authorities). Another reason is that the democratic tradition in Scotland had rendered the ordinary university courses more accessible to the population than in England and the benefaction of Andrew Carnegie materially assisted poor students in the payment of their fees. Newbattle Abbey, at Dalkeith, was opened as an adult residential college in 1937, and is recognised by the Scottish Education Department.

SIR Richard Livingstone in his book, *The Future of Education*, makes an eloquent appeal for the establishment of a system of residential colleges for adults, run on the lines of the Scandinavian countries, which have provided about 200 such colleges for their 16,000,000 inhabitants. Speaking of our pre-1944 system of education, he says, "I am not criticising our elementary schools or their teachers, or denying the necessity of elementary education for all. But unless it leads on to something else, it is as useless as a ladder which has no rungs beyond one or two at the bottom or as a railway from Oxford to London which ends at Didcot. To cease education at 14 is as unnatural as to die at 14. The one is a physical death, the other intellectual death. In fact we have left the vast majority of the population without any kind of liberal education. We have provided for the minority who attend secondary school and university. We have shown the rest a glimpse of the promised land, and left them outside it."¹

He does not believe that the problem can be solved by raising the school-leaving age to 16 or even 18; education must be life-long. Moreover, many of the studies which are essential to the making of an educated nation: literature, history, philosophy, economics, and politics, cannot be fully appreciated by schoolboys because of their inadequate experience of life. He speaks highly of the accomplishment of the W.E.A. and kindred agencies, but he reminds us, "In 1938-39 there were 66,966 students in W.E.A. classes. The figure is remarkable, till we remember that there are forty-three millions in this island, and that the crowd at a cup-tie final is twice as large."² The only solution, in his view, lies in creating a system of residential colleges for adults analogous to the Danish People's High Schools. Alongside these colleges, a system of non-residential educational settlements is necessary. He writes, "Opportunities for systematic adult study . . . must not be limited to lectures or classes given in any hall or schoolroom that happens to be available. They must have a 'local habitation,' a focus in the Latin sense of the word, a hearth where the fire remains continually lit, and where education can be more than isolated individual study and becomes a life shared with others. The Educational Settlements which have grown up during the century show how such a hearth can be provided."³ The Education Act of 1944 envisages a national

¹ R. Livingstone. *The Future in Education*, pp. 3-4, C.U.P., 1942

² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

³ R. Livingstone in foreword to *Citizen Centres for Adult Education*, Educational Settlements Association, 1943.

system of adult education when it places upon L.E.A.'s the duty of providing adequate facilities for full-time and part-time education and leisure-time occupation for persons in their areas who are able and willing to profit by the opportunities provided for that purpose. The L.E.A.'s have the further duty of consulting other agencies in preparing their scheme for further education, such as the universities, the University of Wales Council of Music, and the W.E.A.

Technical education has made such strides during the past hundred years and has now so many ramifications that it is an impossible task to do it justice in a few pages. Space limits our selection to some of its most important aspects. References have already been made in other chapters to certain features of technical instruction, chiefly in connection with the higher grade schools, the junior technical schools, and the Spens Report. This section is largely concerned with the provision of technical instruction for students above compulsory school age.

During the Napoleonic wars, Britain had established an industrial and commercial supremacy over all other countries, since her island position gave her the opportunity of developing her mines and manufactures undisturbed. Thus she had a definite lead as a manufacturing nation, but in the years of peace which followed, other countries began to develop their industrial resources. Even before Britain's industrial supremacy was challenged, the value of technical and scientific instruction was beginning to be officially recognised. In 1836, a Select Committee of the House of Commons recommended the establishment of a Normal School of Design for which the sum of £1500 was voted. From 1841 onwards, annual grants were made for promoting provincial schools of design. The supervision of these schools was given to a public office which later became the Board of Trade.

The Great Exhibition of 1851, which was in many ways a triumph for British industry and craftsmanship, gave indications that in certain aspects we were falling behind our Continental competitors. This led to a demand for the provision of scientific and technical instruction for workpeople. In 1852, the Normal School of Design became the Department of Practical Art in the Board of Trade and the following year a Science Division was added. Its name was then changed to that of the Science and Art Department of the Board of Trade, and it was housed at South Kensington. When, in 1856, the Select Committee of the Privy Council became the Education Department of the Committee of Council, the Science

and Art Department was put under its wing. The Royal College of Chemistry had been opened in 1845 and the Government School of Mines and Science applied to the Arts was established in 1851. These two were amalgamated for some years but were again separated in 1890 under the titles of the Royal College of Science and the Royal School of Mines, South Kensington. The Normal School of Design eventually became the Royal College of Art which was established in 1896.

In order to encourage the teaching of science and art, the Science and Art Department instituted examinations and made grants to schools which presented successful pupils. In 1851, the number of science classes in the country was 38, with 1300 pupils. It had risen to 70 schools with 2543 pupils in 1861. The main problem was that of obtaining an adequate supply of suitably qualified teachers. Common sense would have suggested the foundation of a School of Science at which teachers of science could be trained. The official mind, however, did not work in this way; and the Department fell back upon the traditional method of encouraging a subject, and in 1859, instituted a special examination for teachers of science. The remuneration of the teachers who qualified depended upon the number of their pupils who passed the special examinations held by the Department. No arrangements, however, were made for ensuring that the teachers were properly prepared for the examinations. The influence of this policy was thoroughly bad. Teachers, in order to qualify, got up information from textbooks and afterwards crammed their pupils so as to obtain the maximum amount of grant from the Department. It was possible to pass the examinations without doing any practical work and many candidates obtained certificates who had never seen or handled any scientific apparatus. "Many self-taught students collected South Kensington certificates by the dozen. There is a legend that the highest number of certificates in Agriculture were gained by earnest young men who had never stirred beyond the precincts of Whitechapel."¹ When the Revised Code came into operation in 1862, many teachers augmented their salaries by obtaining a South Kensington certificate and then giving science instruction in evening classes. In Chapter IV, it was mentioned that after 1872 higher grade schools presented pupils for the examinations of the Science and Art Department and were recognised

¹ D. M. Turner. *History of Science Teaching in England*, p. 76, Chapman and Hall, 1927.

as organised schools of science receiving grants for their successful candidates. Also, endowed secondary schools and private schools followed this example, so that science began to take a more prominent place in the school curriculum.

Another factor which encouraged the teaching of science was the report of the Duke of Devonshire's Commission which recommended that in all public and endowed secondary schools, not less than six hours a week should be given to instruction in science and the requirements of the different examining bodies insisted that candidates should offer mathematics and at least one science in order to pass. Unfortunately, much of the preparation of boys for examinations in science consisted of lectures and the reading of textbooks. Professor Armstrong, by his advocacy of the Heuristic method, did much to encourage more practical methods in science teaching.

The claim for the inclusion of science in schools was strengthened by the popular interest shown in such works as Darwin's *Origin of Species* and the articles written by Herbert Spencer, and afterwards, in 1861, collected into book form entitled, *Education—Intellectual, Moral and Physical*. Spencer's advocacy of science was readily accepted not so much because of the cogency of the arguments in his book, for indeed it is a work riddled with inconsistencies and fallacies, as because of the prestige of his name. A more reasonable plea was put by T. H. Huxley who, in his *Essays*, emphasised the widening of outlook which resulted from the study of science. Unlike Spencer, Huxley realised the value of humanities in education, if they were properly taught. Although his *Essays* were not as widely read as Spencer's book, his personality as a teacher and lecturer and the administrative work which fell to him as a member of the first London School Board, probably gave him the greater influence.

At the Paris Exhibition of 1867, British products were in many cases classed below those of the craftsmen of other countries and this caused considerable uneasiness in Britain. The usual remedy was attempted. In 1871, a Royal Commission under the chairmanship of the seventh Duke of Devonshire was appointed to inquire into the conditions under which scientific instruction was being given in all types of English educational establishment. The Devonshire Commission reported in 1875 and included in its report a survey of the technological advances made in foreign countries. The latter stimulated the London City Livery Companies to appoint,

in 1877, a committee to draw up a national scheme of technical instruction. The result was the foundation of the City and Guilds Institute in 1880. The Institute encouraged the teaching of applied science in schools and evening classes and organised a system of examinations in technical subjects. It was responsible for the establishment of the Finsbury Technical College in 1883. This was intended to be "a model trade school for the instruction of artisans and other persons preparing for intermediate posts in industrial works." The college held both day and evening classes, the latter specialising in cabinet-making, which was one of the leading industries of the district. Instruction was given in practical mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, physics, electrical technology, machine drawing, and workshop practice. In the evening classes besides cabinet-making and joinery, bricklaying, drawing, modelling, and design, were taught. This college was an important influence in the development of similar institutions in different parts of the country. As we have already seen, many of the new technical colleges developed from the existing Mechanics' Institutes. In 1884, the City and Guilds Central Technical College was opened at South Kensington with the aim of training technical teachers, works managers, engineers, and industrial chemists.

One of the most interesting developments was due to Quintin Hogg. His interest in education began with a reading lesson given to a couple of crossing sweepers in a street near the Strand. In 1864, he was teaching a ragged school; in 1868, he was in charge of a boys' home in Drury Lane; and in 1878, he opened an evening institute. His Working Lads' Institute outgrew its premises and he acquired in 1880 the building known as the Polytechnic in Regent Street. The latter had been a place of popular and semi-popular entertainment, but after some years it was unable to pay its way. Hogg retained the name for his new institution. The Polytechnic movement owed its rapid progress to the City Parochial Charities Act of 1883. The movement of population away from the City of London had made a redistribution of the charitable endowments of the city parishes highly desirable. A Royal Commission reported that the property yielding about £80,000 per annum was being wasted and recommended that the income should be used for purposes which would benefit the whole metropolis. When the necessary authority had been obtained by the above Act, a scheme was drawn up for establishing throughout London a number of institutions, similar in character to the Regent Street Polytechnic.

The Drapers', Goldsmiths', and Clothworkers' Companies made generous contributions to the scheme. When the London County Council was established by the Local Government Act of 1888, it took over the supervision of the polytechnics. The polytechnics have a wide range of activities and whilst retaining their original functions of promoting social intercourse and healthy recreation, they have developed into educational centres of prime importance. In addition to running secondary and technical schools and day technical classes for more advanced students, they provide evening classes for apprentices and workmen which give instruction of a practical character in connection with the building, engineering, furniture, book binding and printing, clothing, and other trades. There are also commercial and foreign language classes and some of the students are prepared for degrees of the University of London.

The alarm caused by the industrial progress of the German Empire and the competition of the United States led to the appointment of another Royal Commission on Technical Instruction, in 1884.

The report of the Commission reviewed the facilities for technical education in this country and contrasted them with those available on the Continent and in the United States. The Commission not only investigated the training given in technical institutions, but science teaching from the elementary school upwards. The provision of an adequate number of secondary schools of a "modern type," probably similar to the third grade schools of the Taunton Commission, was urged. The report stimulated the authorities to realise the need not only of first-class technical institutions, but also of an adequate supply of secondary schools in which the instruction given would lay the foundation for later technical training. The result of the inquiry was the Technical Instruction Act of 1889. The Act was permissive and gave power to local authorities (the new county and county borough councils) to levy a penny rate in order to supply technical instruction by founding schools and appointing teachers, to aid the supply of technical education, by making grants to institutes supplying such education, and to promote technical education, by the establishment of exhibitions and scholarships. A fortunate accident encouraged the local authorities to make use of these powers. In 1890, the Government passed legislation reducing the number of public houses. To compensate the dispossessed publicans, an additional duty was placed on wines and spirits, but many Members of Parliament were opposed

to any scheme for compensating the publicans. The Act imposing the tax had been passed and the Government found itself in the unique position of having a considerable surplus and not knowing what to do with it. Arthur Acland suggested that the money should be given to the county councils either for assisting technical education or for reducing the rates. The majority used it for the former purpose and were able to finance technical instruction without the necessity of levying the rate authorised by the Act. The experience thus acquired by the councils stood them in good stead when in 1902 they were required to take over the administration of education in their areas in place of the School Boards. This annual sum was known as "Whiskey Money." "So curious a source of revenue, however, entailed one unfortunate result; the funds available for technical education increased whenever drinking increased and diminished with a spread of temperance, so that, if the total abstainers could have persuaded the whole country 'to go dry,' there would have been no funds left."¹ Much of the money was spent on the education of pupils in secondary schools and aided the teaching of science rather than technical instruction.

The central institutions for advanced scientific and technical education established at South Kensington were completely reorganised. The Board of Education appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Lord Haldane in 1904 to inquire into how far the functions of the separate institutions, the Royal College of Science, the Royal School of Mines, and the City and Guilds Central Technical College, could be co-ordinated. The result of the committee's report, published in 1906, was the issue of a Royal Charter in the following year, which established the Imperial College of Science and Technology as a school of the University of London.

The Cross Commission had noticed the decline in the number of students attending evening schools and had recommended that they should be regarded as continuation rather than as elementary schools. This recommendation was carried out in the Code of 1890, and as a result, the evening continuation schools began to give instruction in languages, science, art, and domestic work. In 1902, the L.E.A.'s assumed control of evening continuation schools and the instruction they gave was greatly extended. Many of the classes were held in secondary schools and technical institutes and

¹R. L. Archer. *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 308, C.U.P., 1921.

in some places, *e.g.* Reading, the L.E.A. and the university college organised between them a complete scheme of education for evening students.

When the range of studies provided in the evening classes conducted by the L.E.A.'s was widened, a practical difficulty arose. A young man might elect to study mechanical engineering but he soon found out that he could not make much progress unless at the same time he advanced in his knowledge of such subjects as mathematics, physics, and machine drawing. This difficulty was removed by the introduction of the group system, first adopted by the Halifax continuation evening schools in 1902. The Board of Education supported this policy and, in 1907, students were required to select a group of related subjects for study.

The next step came after the First World War. The young student pursuing evening technical courses had very little to show in the way of paper qualifications at the end of his study. It is true that he could obtain a certificate issued by a body such as the City and Guilds of London Institute, but there was no senior certificate which would be the reward of three to five years' systematic study. The answer to this demand came in 1922, when the Institution of Mechanical Engineers, in conjunction with the Board of Education, began to issue National Certificates and Diplomas in mechanical engineering. The certificates were issued to students who passed with success through approved grouped courses of instruction at certain technical colleges and schools and satisfied the examiners in the final examination. The latter was held by the school or college authorities and assessed by assessors appointed by the Institution. The certificates were on two levels: the Ordinary National Certificate awarded on the results of a senior part-time course of three years, and the Higher National Certificate awarded on the results of an advanced part-time course to those who had already gained the first certificate and had covered another two years' work. For full-time students in technical colleges, the Ordinary and Higher National Diplomas were available. Within the next few years, national certificates and diplomas were available in electrical engineering, chemistry, building, naval architecture, textiles, and commerce. The certificate in the last-named subject is sponsored by the Royal Society of Arts, the London Chamber of Commerce, and other bodies.

The introduction of the national certificates and diplomas has entirely revolutionised the work done in senior technical institutes.

The student can gain a qualification approximating to a university degree in his subject, and the standards of teaching in technical institutions have advanced considerably.

During the last war, the importance of a high standard of technical education, beginning with the evening institutes (the name by which the evening continuation schools have been known since 1926) and extending to the senior technical colleges and the universities, was brought home to everybody. That importance has not diminished in time of peace, and in the present production drive it is everywhere realised that the recovery of our pre-war economic status is dependent, amongst other factors, upon the efficiency of our technical training and research. A distinction is usually made between "technical training," which applies to the work of the evening institutes and technical schools, and "technological training," which denotes the higher study and research appropriate to the universities and central technical institutions.

In 1944, a committee under the chairmanship of Lord Eustace Percy was set up by the Ministry of Education and it reported in the following year. Its object was to consider the needs of higher technological education in England and Wales, the contributions made by universities and technical colleges, and the means of bringing about collaboration between the two types of institution. The Percy Report stated that the evidence showed that the position of Great Britain as a leading industrial nation was endangered by a failure to secure the fullest application of science to industry, and that this failure was due in some measure to deficiencies in education. The committee believed that the solution of our problems lay in conceiving technological training in terms of a combination of works training and academic studies. It was recommended that regional advisory councils should be established together with a National Council of Technology. The regional councils would further the co-ordination of technological education in the university and technical colleges of the region and industry ought to be fully represented on the regional organisation. The chairman added a note that selected institutions should be given the title of Royal College of Technology with power to confer an "Associateship of the Royal College of Technology" and a Fellowship upon graduates. The Minister of Education endorsed these recommendations of the Percy Committee in *Circular 87*, February, 1946.

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION IN H.M. FORCES

It is not generally known that the State created an organised system of education in the Army more than a generation before the Committee of the Privy Council for Education came into existence. As in the case of most other British institutions, Army education owes its origin to voluntary effort. In 1767, an officer of the Queen's Royal Regiment published a set of model standing orders for his unit which at that time was stationed at Dublin. Amongst them occurs the following. "A Sergeant or Corporal, whose Sobriety, Honesty, and Good Conduct can be depended upon and that is capable of teaching Writing, Reading and Arithmetic, is to be employed in the capacity of a Schoolmaster." His duty was to instruct soldiers and soldiers' children, and a room was to be appointed to be used as a schoolroom. How far this order was carried out there is no means of ascertaining, but it is known that at about the same time the 18th Hussars had a regimental school of instruction.

When the Rifle Brigade was founded and placed under the command of Sir John More in 1802, instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic became a regular part of the training. A knowledge of reading, writing, and the first four rules of arithmetic, was expected of every sergeant, and a school was established to enable soldiers to qualify for promotion. In 1811, the commander-in-chief, Frederick, Duke of York, addressed a letter to Lord Palmerston, Secretary-at-War, proposing the establishment of regimental schools. As a result, two general orders, December, 1811, and July, 1812, were issued. The first appointed one sergeant-schoolmaster, with the pay and allowances of a paymaster sergeant, to each battalion. His duty was to instruct young soldiers and the children of soldiers, and an allowance of £10 for books was authorised. The second order required a room in every barracks to be set aside for a school, and authorised an allowance of coal.

At this time, a certain number of married soldiers in each regiment were granted the privilege of taking wives and children on service. The parents had so much to do that the children were left to run wild, and it was felt that something should be done for

their welfare. In 1811, the Adjutant-General issued an order requiring each regiment to open a school for children which was to be placed under the charge of the sergeant-schoolmaster. Wellington, during the Peninsular Campaign, ordered schools to be opened in the field as circumstances permitted. Thus, from its commencement in 1811, organised education in the Army developed along two distinct lines: adult education for the soldier, and elementary instruction for the children. The latter at first tended to overshadow the former. It is interesting to note that the Duke of York's instructions required the adoption of Dr. Bell's monitorial system in the Army.

After Waterloo, progress was slow because of the widespread belief that education would upset the *status quo*, and even such a patron of Army schools as the Duke of York considered that a barrack library was unnecessary and objectionable. He did, however, approve the issue of 28 selected and safe volumes, each one stamped, "Approved, C. Cantuar, E. Ebor, J. London." "The list included such comforting works as *Kind Caution to Profane Swearers*, *Peer's Companion for the Aged* and *Discourse on a Death-bed Repentance*." ¹

Thomas Macaulay, when Secretary-at-War, was responsible for two important decisions. In 1839, every barracks was provided with a reading room and the Stationery Office sent 300 volumes to each. Macaulay is supposed to have personally selected the books and certainly the catalogue at the Record Office shows that the choice involved both understanding and sympathy. In 1840, Macaulay signed a Royal Warrant appointing a schoolmistress to every regiment or regimental depot. The schoolmistress was to instruct the daughters of soldiers in the three R's, needlework, and housewifery, and to train them in habits of diligence, honesty, and piety. This was the origin of the Corps of Army Schoolmistresses, which afterwards became the Queen's Royal Army Schoolmistresses.

The further development of Army education was due to the Rev. R. C. Gleig, who was appointed Inspector-General of Army Schools in 1846. The previous year, Gleig, then Chaplain-General, met Baring, the Paymaster-General, as he was boarding a river steamer at Vauxhall. They suddenly resolved to pay a surprise visit to the Duke of York's School.² They found the conditions at the school

¹ Hawkins and Brimble. *Adult Education, the Record of the British Army*, p. 13, Macmillan, 1947

² The Duke of York's School had been established in 1801 for the maintenance and support of the children of Regular soldiers.

revolting. The buildings were in a filthy state and the sergeant instructors were both brutal and ignorant. The instruction was educationally valueless and discipline was maintained by flogging and confinement in iron cages so constructed that the children could not stand upright in them. The two visitors were appalled and approached Sidney Herbert, Secretary-at-War, with proposals for drastic reforms. Herbert enlisted the help of the Committee of the Privy Council with the result that a Royal Warrant of 1846 instituted the Corps of Army Schoolmasters. The reason for the new departure was given in the preamble "Whereas we have deemed it expedient to introduce into our Army a class of man better calculated to perform the duties of schoolmaster . . ." At the same time, the Duke of York's School was completely reorganised and was restricted to boys only. The sergeant-schoolmasters ranked next to the sergeant-major. They were paid 2s. 6d. a day and beer money, together with an extra 6d. a day for efficiency and good conduct. At first the schoolmaster wore the uniform of his regiment, but in 1854, the uniform prescribed was a dark blue frock-coat and trousers, gold cord shoulder-knots, sash, sword, and a cap with a crown worked in gold thread. At the same time, warrant rank was introduced and commissioned rank a few years later.

Another of Gleig's reforms was the establishment of a normal school as part of the Royal Military Asylum at Chelsea. Its object was to produce efficient schoolmasters and it gave a two years' training course. Students were admitted twice a year on the result of a competitive examination, and no fees were charged. Civilians were also admitted as students but were required to give a bond of £50 that at the end of their training they would enlist as Army schoolmasters. James Thomson, the poet, was one of the earliest students of the college. The course provided did much to raise the standard of Army schoolmasters, and by 1860 there were 244 trained schoolmasters and 242 trained schoolmistresses.

Army schools for adults and children were not only established in Great Britain but also in India and in every part of the Empire where a permanent military station existed. Attendance was voluntary, although a general order signed by Wellington in 1849 attempted to make it compulsory for every recruit to receive instruction from the schoolmaster for two hours each day. The legality of the order was questioned and the law officers of the Crown decided that it was no part of military discipline to attend school.

The military authorities were unwilling to press for new legislation on the matter and contented themselves with offering strong inducements to soldiers to attend. A general order of 1857 laid down, "That no man is to be considered eligible for promotion to corporal, unless in the field, who has not been dismissed the lowest class of the school, and is, therefore, tolerably advanced in reading, writing, and arithmetic."

In 1850, infants' schools and industrial schools for girls were established. Parents sending their children to school were charged small fees which were given over to the use of the schoolmistress. Fees for children attending school in 1858 were according to the following scale: twopence per month for one child, three-halfpence per month for two from the same family, and a halfpenny a month each child if three or four attended. In this year, 11,062 children were being instructed in Army schools. Adults also paid fees. Sergeants paid 8d. a month, corporals 6d. a month, and drummers and privates 4d. a month. The schoolmaster had to provide books and materials from the fees, but in 1854, fees were no longer paid direct to the master, who was relieved of the duty of providing books and stationery.

Gleig was succeeded in 1857 by Colonel Lefroy (later Sir John Lefroy, Governor of Tasmania). The new Inspector-General was an able and zealous man who visited the schools and reported upon the work being done. From his reports, and those of certain H.M.I.'s who were placed at the disposal of the military authorities by the Education Department, we learn a great deal about the varied educational activities going on in the Service. "The annual reports speak of unit libraries, managed by committees on which the rank and file were represented, of lantern lectures, community singing, Christy minstrels, dances, and gymnastic classes. In Aldershot, in 1858, there was a garrison list of twenty-seven Army lecturers. Two brigade majors with 'magic lanthorn' lectured respectively on 'Wellington' and 'The Australian Gold Diggings.' An artillery officer explained the new electric telegraph, and a corporal of the Devons was found constructing one from his memory of the lecture. Schoolmaster Grant lectured on 'Curiosities of Air and Water, with Chemical Experiments.' But at the other end of the scale was the wretched schoolmasters in Capetown, to whom no sailing ship delivered stores in 1857 and 1858. During these two years, in a

dark hut paved with cobblestones, he taught fifty men with the aid of a dozen (borrowed) slates, and a pocket map of the world.”¹

Lefroy introduced a number of reforms during his tenure of office. Fees were abolished in the lowest grade of school which taught the three R's and by 1870 all fees had disappeared. A Council of Military Education was formed in 1857, originally for superintending the education of officers, but in 1860, it undertook the supervision of Army schools. Queen Victoria objected to the Council because it detracted from the authority of the Commander-in-Chief. She had her own way in 1870, when the Council was abolished. Its most noteworthy activity was the institution, in 1860, of Army Certificates of Education. The certificates were in three classes and the standards to be attained by the holders were as follows: 1st Class—to read fluently any book of ordinary difficulty and write correctly a passage dictated from the same; an understanding of the method of keeping Mess Book, Ledger, and Regimental Savings Bank accounts; ability to work vulgar and decimal fractions and examples in compound proportion, and a fair knowledge of general geography and English history. 2nd Class—to read a book of moderate difficulty and write fairly a passage dictated from the same, to understand the method of Mess Book, Ledger, and Regimental Savings Bank accounts, and to work examples in practice, simple proportion and interest. 3rd Class—to read easy narratives and write fairly a passage dictated from the same, and to work examples in the four compound rules and reduction of money.

In 1871, a 4th Class Certificate was introduced, but as its standard was too low to be of any value it was discontinued in 1877.

One may be tempted to ask what these early efforts in Army education achieved. Lefroy's reports supply the answer. Illiteracy was widespread amongst the soldiers of the mid 19th century. In 1859, 20.5 per cent. could neither read nor write and 18.8 per cent. could read a little and just sign their names. By 1868, these percentages had dropped to 9.46 and 10.59 respectively.

The Newcastle Commission included Service schools in their terms of reference and emphasised very strongly the value of Army education. “In the present day the soldier is not looked upon as a mere machine, but is expected to be intelligent and to exercise

¹ *Army Education*, Vol. XVII, No. 4, p. 135. “A Note on the History of Army Education,” Colonel A. C. T. White, V.C., M.C., June, 1942.

self-reliance; it is impossible that he should do so if he has not mastered the rudiments of education and has been subjected to no mental training. Profligacy and habits of excess are no longer tolerated in the soldier; we must, therefore, endeavour by education to raise him above these things, and set before him better objects to wean him from such pursuits: and it must not be forgotten that in many instances soldiers are discharged the service in their prime, and it is obvious that they carry into civil life the habits which they have acquired in the Army . . . It is most highly important, therefore, in every way that the soldier should be encouraged to attend school.”¹

The Commissioners thought that however desirable it might be to make school attendance compulsory for boys, it should remain voluntary for adults. “A great deal will always depend upon the commanding officer, and upon the interest he shows in the school. It is in his power to stimulate the men to attend, and to give orders that no trivial matters should interfere with the school hours. . . . We think it desirable that an annual report upon these schools should be issued, a copy of which should be forwarded to the commanding officer of every regiment; and that, where the schools of any particular regiment fall short of the average in efficiency and attendance, the special attention of the commanding officer should be called to the matter.”²

The Cardwell reforms of 1870, the Elementary Education Act of the same year, and the abolition of the purchase of commissions which resulted in a better type of officer, all had their repercussions on Army education. More attention was given to the soldier's welfare, especially in regard to conditions in barracks, and to messing and recreation. The educational system had to be improved to meet the needs of the better type of recruit who was entering the Army. The regulations of 1881 made promotion to the rank of colour-sergeant depend on the possession of a first class certificate of education. A new drill book issued in 1892 emphasised that soldiers should be “taught to think and, subject to accepted principles, to act for themselves.” The Council of Military Education was replaced by a Director General of Education in 1870, who, in turn, was superseded by a Director of Army Schools in 1898. New barracks were built in which separate classrooms

¹ *Newcastle Commission on Popular Education*, Vol. I, p 427, H.M.S.O., 1861.

² *Ibid.*, pp 427-8

were provided. The seating accommodation in children's schools was overhauled and the desks which had been made for adults were replaced by adjustable ones which could serve for adults and children alike. Regular surprise inspections of Army schools became the custom and it has been stated that this caused a definite rise in the standard of the instruction. Published statistics seemed to show a very happy state of affairs. At the end of the century, more than 4000 men possessed a first class certificate and 45,000 men a second class. Much of this progress was illusory. The Corps of Army Schoolmasters was hampered at every turn by red tape and the issue of detailed regulations encouraged formalism and stifled initiative. At one time, an exact minimum number of words and sentences was prescribed for the essay examination for the second class certificate. The spirit bred of Payment by Results invaded and thrived in an Army atmosphere. Under such soul-destroying conditions it is scarcely surprising that the supply of suitable entrants to the educational service dwindled. A committee in 1901, called to consider the conditions of service for Army schoolmasters, failed to produce any useful recommendations. Another committee, in 1904, suggested a reorganisation which involved a revision of the syllabus and a reduction of the schoolmaster's hours of work. Improved methods of teaching began to appear and the quality of the instruction started to rise. In 1906, proficiency pay was introduced for soldiers, and one of the conditions of earning it was the possession of a third class certificate of education.

The War Office requested the Board of Education to conduct a thorough investigation into Army education. The inspectors seconded for this duty reported in 1907, and through their recommendations the method of training Army schoolmasters was assimilated to that employed in civilian training colleges. In 1909, the Board of Education recognised trained Army schoolmasters as certificated teachers, a step which was a boon to those who left the Army after the First World War. It enabled them to enter civilian schools with recognition on the salary scale for time spent in the Service.

Before 1914, the Y.M.C.A. had taken a keen interest in the welfare of the soldier, and in the summer training camps for both Regulars and Territorials, the Y.M.C.A. tent had become a regular feature. It provided a "quiet room" for reading and writing, and, in off-duty periods, concerts and religious services were held in it,

and lectures of an attractive nature given. When the outbreak of war put an end to the educational activities provided by the Army, the Y.M.C.A. stepped into the breach and augmented these facilities for troops in Britain and overseas. In 1915, a committee, with Dr. Temple (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) as chairman and Dr. Basil Yeaxlee as secretary, was formed to develop its work in education. The universities and other educational bodies were also providing lecturers, and it became necessary to integrate these different activities. In April, 1918, the Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee was created, on which the universities were represented by their Vice-Chancellors and members of their teaching staff, and other members were elected by the Directors of Education, the N.U.T., the W.E.A., the Y.M.C.A., and Y.W.C.A. The whole of the expense was borne by the Y.M.C.A., which spent about £250,000 on the enterprise. Much of the work was carried out on the different fighting fronts, but the needs of soldiers in training in Britain, and workers in munition factories, also received attention. As the organisation was not supported by public funds, its work was able to develop along liberal lines and freedom in experiment was encouraged. Its object was the personal development of the soldier's interests and training in good citizenship. Owing to the exigencies of the campaign, it was difficult to organise consecutive lectures so that much of the work consisted in single lectures covering a wide variety of topics. Where possible, such as at base camps, regular classes were conducted. At Etaples, early in 1918, over 1000 men were studying the French language. Voluntary educational efforts started within the Army itself. Thus, at Brocton Camp on Cannock Chase, in 1917, an organised experiment was carried out with certain battalions of young soldiers. The initiative came from the officers of these units and the teachers were supplied by personnel of the camp who had had either secondary education or previous teaching experience. A similar experiment was tried out in November, 1917, by the 23rd Army Corps.

All this work attracted the attention of the authorities and A.C.I. 322 of 1917 was issued and made elementary education part of the training of the young soldier, *i.e.* recruits under the age of 18½. The next step was the introduction of a definite scheme of education by the Army Council. Its general principles were announced early in 1918 and although the beginning of the scheme coincided with the great German offensive, preparations still went on. The Army was responsible for carrying out the scheme in the

forward areas, but the Y.M.C.A. dealt with the provision of educational facilities on the lines of communication. Lectures were provided through the Y.M.C.A. Universities Committee and Sir Henry Hadow went to France as the Y.M.C.A. Director of Education. He was later succeeded by Sir Graham Balfour. Nearly 200 lecturers and teachers volunteered for the work, and classrooms and libraries were established at base camps. By December, 1918, on the lines of communication in France, 810 courses of study, covering 71 different subjects and attended by 12,235 students, had been organised. The subjects offered included mathematics and science, languages and literature, history, philosophy, business and commercial subjects, and arts and crafts. Attendance at lectures, as distinct from classes, amounted in the same month to 93,380.

The Universities Committee provided educational facilities for officers and men interned in Holland. Music was in great demand there and courses were arranged by Mr. Percy Scholes, who gathered a group of outstanding musicians to carry out the work. Other fronts, Salonika, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Italy, received lecturers from the Universities Committee. Courses were also arranged for patients in military hospitals.

Meanwhile, the official Army scheme was launched. Lord Gorell was put in charge and was assisted by a committee on which the armies in Britain and France, the Board of Education, and the Ministries of Labour and Reconstruction were represented. Financial sanction was obtained and on September 24th, 1918, the Army Council issued a special Army Order (295 of 1918) which gave official authorisation to the educational work which had been going on in Britain and France. Army Order 18 of December 20th, 1918, extended the scheme to Italy, Salonika, and Egypt. The organisation and supervision of the scheme was in the hands of a Department of the Staff Duties Directorate at the War Office, which was assisted by an Inter-Departmental Committee and a number of expert advisers appointed by the Board of Education and the Scottish Education Department. The scheme provided for the creation of a teaching staff from Army personnel and authorised the appointment of education officers on a scale proportionate to the requirements of the different units. Two schools of education were opened, one at Oxford and the other at Cambridge (later transferred to Newmarket) to train officers and N.C.O.'s for teaching. Intensive courses of a month's duration were held at these schools.

In order to unify educational training in the Army, the Army Schoolmasters' Department was transferred to the Staff Duties Directorate. Lord Gorell recognised the significance of this action when he said, "This transference was, as far as it goes, an acceptance of the principle that military training and educational training could be and should be viewed together."

The scheme had barely been launched when the signing of the Armistice called for certain important modifications. The citizen armies were now looking forward to returning to civil life and the urgent need was now to provide for the men awaiting demobilisation, training which would assist them in taking up their old occupations or fit them for undertaking new ones. There was also the Army of Occupation on the Rhine to be considered. The task was a gigantic one and the military authorities tackled their problems with vigour. Every unit of 1000 men in the Home Forces was allotted four officers and 12 N.C.O.'s as instructors. Every available textbook was obtained and over three-quarters of a million books were sent overseas. "Colleges in the older Universities were turned into schools for Army instructors, amongst whom were teachers, lawyers, farmers, mechanics, shopkeepers—any class of men that had something to contribute to national reconstruction. Army workshops and military training establishments became vocational training schools, with curricula ranging from linotype setting and stock breeding to English literature and the Malay language. Education officers in hospitals in close touch with the Ministries of Labour and Pensions, worked to facilitate the resettlement of the disabled" ¹

Perhaps the most spectacular effort was made by the Army of the Rhine. Buildings were requisitioned from the German universities and technical colleges and the Rhine Army Colleges developed in which, during the summer of 1919, about 75,000 students were taking regular courses. The Army of the Rhine was allotted double the number of instructors granted to the other armies, and civilian teachers were also employed. The group of colleges consisted of an Army General and Commercial College of 300 students, an Army Science College of 220 students, an Army Technical College of 200 students, Corps Schools (General, Commercial, Technical), each of 150 students, and Divisional Schools (with General, Technical and Agricultural wings) each capable of taking 250 students.

¹ *Army Education, op cit*, pp 137-8.

In all units, education for one hour each, taken out of parade time, was compulsory. From the units, selected students passed to the Divisional Schools and from these to Corps Schools or Army Colleges.

Mr. Fisher, President of the Board of Education, warmly encouraged the scheme, which he described as the "greatest military invention since gunpowder." Speaking at the Cambridge School for Army Instructors, he said, "Nothing in the shape of adult education has ever been attempted on the same scale in the whole history of the world." The final report on Adult Education, published by the Ministry of Reconstruction, expressed the hope: "It is idle to prophesy, but we may hope that these are portents of a new educational era which we are about to enter, an era which will be marked by a large extension of adult education among the people generally."¹

Education in the R.A.F. proceeded on somewhat different lines. This was due to the fact that the Air Force differed from the Army in having a larger number of skilled and semi-skilled men. The R.A.F. education scheme was approved in August, 1918, but before putting it into operation, a census was made of the educational requirements of Air Force personnel serving in France. One of the difficulties encountered was that the R.A.F. had no regimental system and its units were of all sizes, scattered about the country and often in out-of-the-way places. Hence, the Air Force scheme was less centralised and provision had to be made for individual treatment. The Air Ministry was convinced that education would be a permanent feature of the Service, and consequently it prepared an emergency scheme that could readily be merged into a permanent one on the return of normal conditions. Because of the necessity of decentralisation, Air Force education officers were given more freedom and responsibility. The ratio of instructors was the same as in the Army and their rate of pay was also equivalent. This was unfortunate since the pay and allowances were not sufficient to attract instructors of the best type. An additional source of supply was found amongst educated women in the W.R.A.F. A general syllabus was issued but each education officer was called upon to frame courses suited to the requirements of the personnel in his locality.

A feature of the Air Force was the large demand for vocational subjects. A system of correspondence courses was organised to

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 349.

meet the needs of men and women stationed in out-of-the-way places. By March, 1919, about 12,300 officers and men were receiving instruction. The R.A.F. also drew upon voluntary sources such as the universities, the Y.M.C.A., and the W.E.A.

The hopes of the President of the Board of Education and the Ministry of Reconstruction were only partially realised. "A tremendous task had been attempted and something had been done. Much of the work was slight and ephemeral; some of it was more solid, while occasionally, a little reached a high standard. And when one remembers the conditions under which the work was attempted, one must admire the courage of the men who took up the challenge and achieved what they did."¹

As demobilisation proceeded rapidly, many people were asking what was to be the future of education in the Army. This question was answered by Mr. Churchill in August, 1919, when, as Secretary of State for War, he declared to the House of Commons, "It has been decided that education is henceforward to be regarded as an integral part of Army training." In pursuance of this policy, the Corps of Army Schoolmasters was disbanded in February, 1920, and Mr. Churchill announced that, in future, regimental officers would be responsible for elementary educational training and would be assisted by an Education Corps incorporating members of the former Corps of Army Schoolmasters and Schoolmistresses.

The constitution and duties of the new Corps were laid before Parliament in May, 1920, and the establishment, pay, and conditions of service of the Army Educational Corps were set out in Army Order 231 of 1920. In addition to transferring personnel from the Corps of Army Schoolmasters, officers and other ranks who had suitable qualifications and experience were invited to apply for transfer. A board of selection under the chairmanship of Lord Gorell interviewed candidates, and the establishment was made up to 428 officers and 595 warrant officers and sergeants. Personnel of the Corps were allotted on a fixed scale to units and were to be regarded by commanding officers as expert advisers and assistants. They were not only responsible for carrying out advanced instruction but were also required to supervise the training of regimental instructors who dealt with the more elementary aspects of the training. Other members of the Corps were attached to the H.Q.'s of brigades, divisions, and commands, and were appointed

¹ Hawkins and Brimble, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-4.

to the Army School of Education established at Shorncliffe or were given inspectorial posts at the War Office.

The Geddes Axe came into operation in 1922 and the establishment of the Corps was cut to one half. The official textbook of educational principles, *Educational Training, Part I, General Principles*, was issued in 1920, and was revised and enlarged in 1923 and again in 1931. This was an enlightened document which incorporated the principles of modern educational method. The Army Certificates of Education were restored, with an additional Special Certificate. A soldier had to gain a first class certificate before he could receive warrant rank and the special certificate before he could be commissioned. The examination for the special certificate included English, mathematics, a classical or modern language, map reading, and two other subjects selected from a prescribed list.

Vocational training was introduced to fit the soldier to take up civilian employment after his discharge from the Army. This included gardening, joinery, light metalwork, and elementary electrical engineering. Special vocational centres were established. At Catterick, soldiers were trained in farming methods and poultry and pig keeping. Officers and other ranks of the A.E.C. were allotted to the apprentice tradesmen schools and were responsible for the general education of boys who were training to become skilled Army tradesmen.

Between 1920 and 1939, the A.E.C., although suffering from successive economy cuts, took on new responsibilities in Britain and overseas. Some idea of the success of the Corps is given by the number of 18,000 men who possessed the first class certificate in 1936 (a standard roughly equivalent to School Certificate) and that 90 per cent. of these had left school at 14.

When war broke out in 1939, members of the A.E.C. were required to take up Intelligence duties and it was not until the winter of 1940 that they were able to return to their educational work. Meanwhile, education in the Forces was left to voluntary associations connected with adult education. After Munich, a modified form of conscription had been introduced and demands were made by the Y.M.C.A., the W.E.A., and the universities for the provision of educational training for the young militiamen. These demands were supported by the Board of Education and in consequence the War Office agreed to prepare a scheme in conjunction with the Extra-mural departments of the universities. Before

the scheme could be put into operation, hostilities broke out and the various committees responsible for it were dissolved.

As in the First World War, groups of men within the Army began to organise educational schemes and called upon the universities and other bodies for assistance. The need for the co-ordination of these diverse activities grew, and the demand that something should be done was made in the Press and by different educational associations. A conference representing the Board of Education and the civilian bodies met and decided upon the institution of a Central Advisory Council for Education in H.M. Forces. The Council had its first meeting in January, 1940, and Sir Walter Moberly, Chairman of the University Grants Committee, was appointed its chairman, with Dr. A. D. (later Lord) Lindsay, Master of Balliol College, Oxford, as vice-chairman, and Dr. Basil Yeaxlee as secretary. The C.A.C. asked the vice-chancellors and the principals of the university colleges to form Regional Committees through which the C.A.C. could work. Altogether 23 Regional Committees for Education in H.M. Forces were formed, on which the universities and representatives of bodies concerned with adult education served. A full-time secretary, usually a member of the university staff, was appointed for each Regional Committee, and plans were drawn up for the co-ordination of the educational resources of their areas.

The Regional Committees got busy in a very short space of time and from August, 1940, their work was financed by the Government through the War Office. These measures mobilised the whole of the civilian educational resources of the country to deal with the situation. The C.A.C., however, intimated to the War Office that it was important to utilise the educational resources of the Army as soon as possible. The Haining Committee met in March, 1940, and recommended the establishment of a Directorate of Army Education. The personnel of the A.E.C. were returned to their educational duties and the increase of the establishment of the Corps was authorised. The War Office ordered every unit to appoint a regimental officer as part-time education officer and his duties were to ascertain the needs of his men and make arrangements to meet them.

Some idea of the ground covered by the Regional Committees can be gained from one of the early reports of the C.A.C. for the period April-September, 1941. 18,983 single lectures, 1530 short courses, and 1075 classes were arranged by the Regional Committees.

The total number of meetings was 33,532. In addition there were classes organised by the L.E.A.'s, and between 700 and 800 provided for the Royal Navy and the R.A.F. At this time, the C.A.C. was employing 46 full-time, and a very much larger number of part-time, lecturers

In spite of all that was being accomplished by the C.A.C., the L.E.A.'s, and the personnel of the A.E.C., the Adjutant-General, Sir Ronald Adam, calculated that nearly 80 per cent. of the Army was untouched by any regular educational influence. It was largely due to his advice that the Army Council introduced the Army Bureau of Current Affairs in September, 1941. Sir Ronald Adam decided that educational activities should be compulsory in the Army, but what forms should they take?

The morale of the average soldier was causing the Government considerable concern. The Germans knew quite clearly what they were fighting for, but the same could not be said of many of our own troops. Large numbers had only a vague understanding of the causes which had produced the war, and even those who were adequately informed when they joined the Army, had lost touch with current affairs. It was felt that if the soldier was thoroughly acquainted with the essentials of the cause for which he was fighting, he would be a better soldier and the understanding would give a new direction to both his training and his campaigning. The ideal was that of the Cromwellian soldier who both knew and loved what he was fighting for.

There was to be at least one A.B.C.A. discussion a week and it was to be given by the regimental officer. In order to brief him, a bulletin was issued every week. *Current Affairs* and *War* would be supplied in alternate weeks. Mr. W. E. Williams, the Director of the Army Bureau of Current Affairs, was the originator of this idea. *Current Affairs* provided a background of recent events in their relation to the war effort and *War* was to be a chronicle of the progress of the war on different fronts showing the achievements of the Navy, Army, and Air Force, and the forces of our allies. Each bulletin also contained suggestions about the methods of handling the topics. It was not supposed that every officer would be a capable instructor. Indeed, the majority were faced by a task which was entirely new to them. The method to be employed was that of a free discussion and the rôle of the regimental officer was rather that of a group leader or a chairman than a teacher. He was given the advice, "Take particular care to assure

your men that you don't claim to be an expert. But tell them that it's your business, as an officer, to learn the facts about things, so that you can communicate them to the men you have to train. 'I didn't know anything about the Bren gun until I joined the Army. I've had to study it, so that I could teach it. In the same way, I've had to study the origins of this war, so that I can teach you about it. I'm not an expert, but I've collected and examined the facts, and now, as well as I can, I'll try to answer any questions you put about it. I don't say I'll know all the answers, but I'll do my best, and at least I can help you to find them out from other sources.'"¹

Needless to say, some officers made a great success of their new job while others were complete failures. Everything depended on the attitude of the commanding officer and the zeal and enthusiasm of the regimental officers themselves. On the whole, A.B.C.A. made many men "news minded" and taught them how to read their newspapers intelligently and to discuss their views with their comrades.

Experience of A.B.C.A. discussions showed that the education of men and women in the Forces was lacking in many fundamentals and something more than an hour per week spent at a lecture or in discussion was needed to make good these deficiencies. Accordingly, for the four winter months, November, 1942—February, 1943, an additional three hours a week were allotted for education from the training time. One period was for the training of the man as a soldier; another was concerned with his education as a citizen, and the third with his education as an individual. The first period was to be at the disposal of the commanding officer, who might use it for map reading, history of the Army or the Regiment, or, in the case of technical units, for mathematics or technical instruction. The briefing for the course in citizenship was by means of the *British Way and Purpose* pamphlets which had been specially written by civilian experts. Whilst the regimental officers continued with A.B.C.A., *British Way and Purpose* was usually given by civilian lecturers from the Regional Committees, personnel of the A.E.C., or specially briefed regimental instructors. The latter were obtained through short courses on subject-matter and methods of teaching held at the universities. Thus, at Leeds, during this period, the writer organised courses of a fortnight's duration through which more than 400 regimental instructors were briefed. Similar courses

¹ *Basic A.B.C.A.*, No. 1, Nov., 1942, p. 2.

were arranged at most of the other universities. The third period catered for the individual interests of men and women, and a wide variety of studies and occupations was available. Correspondence courses were arranged to assist those whose professional training had been broken by enlistment. *British Way and Purpose* was such a success that the original series of pamphlets were issued in book form. A.B.C.A. and *British Way and Purpose* were also taken up by the Royal Navy and the R.A.F.

In November, 1942, the A.B.C.A. Directorate began the issue of A.B.C.A. Map Reviews. Each of these consisted of a large coloured map of the world with arrows pointing to the regions where events of current interest had occurred. The back of the sheet contained comments on recent events illustrated by maps and photographs. They were issued fortnightly to units and formed a running commentary on current affairs. In large units, a quiet room was set aside containing current copies of the pamphlets, photographs, wall newspapers and selected works of reference.

Music appealed to considerable numbers of men and women. Northern Command was able to produce two orchestras, the Catterick, and the Northern Command Symphony Orchestra, the latter being conducted by Richard Austin. Musical and dramatic performances were arranged by the Entertainments National Service Association (E.N.S.A.) both in Britain and overseas. In some districts, Forces Music Clubs were started and attracted the more serious students of music. The A.T.S. both used and contributed to the different services made available, and special courses in household repairs, handicrafts, and domestic subjects, were arranged for them.

To sum up, these wartime years witnessed the greatest experiment ever conducted in mass adult education, but this was not the end of it all. As the war drew to its conclusion, serious attention was being given to the demobilisation period. Matters were complicated since no one knew when the war was likely to end, but as early as December, 1943, an education scheme for the release period was being considered. In addition to the Army School of Education, which had moved from Shorncliffe to Wakefield, and the A.B.C.A. School at Coleg Harlech, a new school for training instructors for the release period was opened at Cuerdon Hall near Preston. The establishment of the A.E.C. was increased so that the Corps could adequately supervise the scheme. Most of the actual instruction was to be given by unit education officers and

personnel selected from the unit. With the assistance of the Regional Committees, a large number of intensive courses for instructor training were organised, so that when the time came to put the scheme into operation there would be a sufficiency of instructors. At the end of 1944, Field-Marshal Montgomery released Brigadier (now Major-General) Cyril Lloyd to take up the duties of Director of Army Education. In the spring of 1945, everything was ready for launching the undertaking. The details of the scheme are given in the *Organisation Handbook*, March 16th, 1945. The Army offered both a general educational training and introductory or pre-vocational courses. The vocational training of men and women on their release was the concern of the Ministry of Labour and National Service, but the Army was able to supply personnel with reliable information about different types of employment and provide certain courses which would be an introduction to the more specialised vocational training to be given after demobilisation.

The scheme was organised on a unit basis, an A.T.S. group being regarded as a unit. The commanding officer was responsible for the educational work carried on in the unit. A minimum of six hours a week was set aside from training or working hours for education, and commanding officers could allocate further periods if necessary. Two hours a week were given to current affairs and citizenship. A.B.C.A. pamphlets continued to be issued, and for the course in citizenship the consolidated edition of *British Way and Purpose* was used. The remainder of the time was given over to courses and activities which appealed to the individual tastes of men and women. Curriculum handbooks were issued which divided the syllabuses into three grades—elementary, intermediate, and advanced.

Officers of the A.E.C. were included in the staffs of formations down to and inclusive of brigades, sub-districts, and sub-areas, and were also allotted to certain special units. Their duty was to advise the commander and assist, under his direction, in administering the scheme. They were assisted by warrant officers and sergeants.

The commanding officer of a unit selected and appointed a full-time education officer and a number of full-time instructors. The rank of the unit education officer and the number of instructors depended upon the size of the unit. The regimental officers still had the duty of presiding at A.B.C.A. discussions, but they might

be drawn into the unit's educational programme as either instructors, organisers, or students. The unit education officer was assisted by a unit education committee which represented the different interests within the unit and provided means of publicity and ascertained the educational needs of the men and women. Arrangements were made for a supply of textbooks, stationery, materials, and apparatus on a generous scale.

Classes which, because of their nature or appeal, could not be organised within units, were provided at brigade level. The apex of the scheme was the Formation College organised in seven departments: Pure and Applied Science and Mathematics, Arts and Crafts, Trades, Commerce, Domestic Science, Modern Studies, and Instructor Training. Each college was capable of housing from 600 to 1000 students and offered courses of a month giving approximately 100 hours' instruction. Students would carry their studies here to a more advanced stage than was possible in their units. One Formation College was established in each home command, one in the British Liberation Army, and one each in the Central Mediterranean Force and the Middle East Force. Arrangements were also made for special lecturers chosen by the C.A.C. to visit the armies in Europe, North Africa, and the Far East. Formation Colleges at home were housed as far as possible in large country houses. Thus Northern Command Formation College was at Welbeck Abbey, the seat of the Duke of Portland, but troops from the London district and Southern Command made use of a hutted camp at Chisledon near Swindon.

In order to meet the needs of men and women who wished to enter a university or one of the professions, courses of study leading to the Forces Preliminary Examination were instituted.¹

The scheme was drawn up in accordance with the prevailing belief that after the war with Germany had been won, at least another year would be necessary to ensure the defeat of Japan and that, therefore, demobilisation would be a gradual process. VE Day came on May 8th, 1945, but by August 10th, Japan was also out of the war. As a result, the Government announced that

¹ This examination was in two parts, and in order to pass, the candidate had to satisfy the examiners in both parts which could be taken separately. Part I consisted of three compulsory subjects, English, Mathematics or Latin or a subject chosen from Part III, and General Knowledge (including Current Affairs and Citizenship). In Part II, the candidate had to pass in two of the following subjects, Natural Science or Household Science or Latin (if not already taken in Part I), French or German, History or Geography, Social Science, and additional Mathematics or Geometrical and Mechanical Drawing.

demobilisation would be speeded up. During May and June, units made their preliminary plans and the scheme was to be complete by July 1st. In spite of many difficulties the scheme operated in some units with marked success. The chief difficulty was the diminishing number of instructors, since a large proportion of unit education officers and instructors consisted of teachers who were being released. New instructors had to be obtained and the Army Schools and the Regional Committees worked hard in providing training courses for new unit instructors. With the end of the fighting, the pamphlet, *War*, was discontinued, and in December, 1945, the Army Bureau of Current Affairs gave place to a civilian bureau which, under the control of the Carnegie Trustees, continues to issue bulletins, map reviews, and all kinds of visual aids including films and film strips.

During 1947, it was realised that the Army Release Scheme would soon have completed its work and would have to be replaced by some permanent scheme to suit peacetime conditions. The latter differed from pre-war days because a limited form of conscription was continued. The needs of young men drafted into their year of National Service had to be considered. At the same time, arrangements had to be made for the education of Regular soldiers. Accordingly, plans were prepared for the Army's scheme of general education. As in the release period, the curriculum is divided into three grades and comprises five basic subjects: English, mathematics, history and geography, general science, and citizenship with current affairs.¹

The scheme works as follows: for the first six weeks after enlistment, the recruit spends two hours a week divided between a basic course of citizenship and current affairs. For the rest of the year, both National Service men and Regular soldiers attend classes in general education for three hours a week. The National Service man will then return to civil life and fulfil his Territorial obligation. The Regulars would then spend four hours a week in general education, except those engaged in special training work, in which case they would continue with three hours a week.

The scheme is partly compulsory and partly voluntary. Citizenship and current affairs are compulsory for National Service men and Regular soldiers. If, however, any men have reached the standard of the Forces Preliminary Examination, they will continue their

¹ The War Office has recently issued the *Handbook of General Education (Interim Period)*, in which the syllabuses for Grades A, B, and C are given together with suggestions on teaching method.

education in a form suited to their needs. Some of these men may be employed as instructors, N.C.O.'s and technicians or may be receiving instruction in leader training units. Education appropriate to their special circumstances will be provided. Regular soldiers will continue their education until they have served three years or reached the standard of Forces Preliminary, Part I. If they wish to continue voluntarily after this, permission will generally be given. Similar regulations apply to the A.T.S.¹ and V.A.D. Soldiers are also encouraged to make use of educational facilities both in their units and those provided by civilian bodies. Correspondence courses are still available and should be a great boon to troops in isolated stations. The correspondence scheme includes nearly 500 different courses and with the necessary textbooks costs 10s. per annum. The pre-vocational training of the release period is retained and arrangements have been made with the Ministry of Labour and National Service to ease the transition from Army education to specialised vocational training after discharge.

Two Army colleges in Britain and two overseas are retained, and Army Education Centres up to the number of 80 may be established for garrisons of over 1500 men at home and abroad. Regimental instructors are being replaced by personnel of the R.A.E.C.,² but the unit education officer is retained on a part-time basis and the commanding officer is still responsible for the education of his unit. More generous allowances of supervisory staff and arrangements for supplies of books, stationery, and apparatus have been made. These are now issued on the normal equipment scales along with the soldier's rifle and other military equipment.

Two Army Schools of Education, one for N.C.O.'s at Buchanan Castle near Loch Lomond, and the other at Eltham Palace, Kent, for officers, are busy training instructors, and as soon as any unit receives its complement of instructors it can start straight away with the scheme.³ The whole of Army education is being brought into line with the Further Education planned by the Act of 1944 and to bring this about, the Ministry of Education has arranged for certain H.M.I.'s to co-operate in an advisory capacity with the military inspectors of the Army Directorate.

¹ The A.T.S. is to be renamed the Women's Royal Auxiliary Corps (W.R.A.C.).

² The distinction of the title Royal Army Educational Corps was conferred December 10th, 1946, as recognition for valuable services in the war.

³ The two Army Schools will be amalgamated and moved to Bodmin, Cornwall.

One problem, the number of illiterates in the Forces, has caused considerable concern. In 1943, it was estimated that these represented about $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. of the intake. Since National Service men have entered the Army, some authorities place the percentage as high as ten with possibly double that number of semi-illiterates. These figures may be exaggerated, but there is no doubt that large numbers enter the Services at 18 who seem to have retained little that has been taught to them at school. These are not always confined to the dull and backward; many with normal, and sometimes high, I.Q.'s are almost illiterate. During the war, special courses in basic education were arranged to teach them reading and writing. Special textbooks (*English Parade*) were issued and the teaching of reading proceeded by a combination of "sentence" and "phonetic" methods. Some of these efforts were successful, but many men relapsed a few months after the course. Refresher courses were of value in helping to prevent this. One may ask how it is that men who have attended school until 14 should become illiterate in the space of a few years. Investigations have shown that many causes have been at work. Some had missed the greater part of their schooling, e.g. children of the bargees, gipsies, etc. Another cause was the large numbers in the classes of the junior schools. Under these conditions there was a tendency to neglect the duller pupils, with the result that they left the junior school without being able to read or write. The senior school gave them little help, partly owing to the absence of suitable reading books for "C" stream pupils. There were also pupils who, through illness, had missed a large part of the school course. Other contributory factors were the dislocation of the pupils' studies in blitzed areas, the unsatisfactory schooling of many who had been evacuated, and the tendency of some teachers to pay less attention to basic subjects than formerly. Under the new scheme, centres for preliminary education have official recognition and provide a six weeks' course under specially trained instructors. When the man rejoins his unit, his preliminary education continues. The War Office realises that, under modern conditions of warfare, an illiterate can never make an efficient soldier.

Space will only allow a brief mention of the educational work in the Royal Navy and the R.A.F. during the last war. As in the Army, education in the Navy has a long history. There were education officers on the ships of the Royal Navy at least as far back as the end of the 17th century. Their duties were to instruct

young officers in the three R's and in navigation, and then to teach other young people of the ship. The Newcastle Commission was very critical of the facilities provided by the Admiralty. The Commissioners reported, "The educational arrangements of the navy present a marked difference to those in force for the army. The organisation is inferior, and the Admiralty does not appear to take an equal interest with the War Office in promoting it. The necessity of education for the navy is acknowledged but little earnestness is displayed in carrying it out"¹ Although a seaman's schoolmaster was to be found in all ships with a complement of over 300 men, the Commissioners who investigated the conditions of education in sea-going ships reported that the schools were very defective. The teaching was not of a character to interest or attract the men and generally no register of attendances was kept. The inadequacy of the schools was largely due to the lack of interest shown by the captain and the senior officers, and the schoolmasters were of an inferior type and would continue to be so until more adequate pay was given. As the Admiralty was not prepared to spend additional money on education, the Commission recommended the introduction of the pupil-teacher system on board ship.

Dr. Wooley inspected the ships in harbour and reported on their schools as follows: "My impression is not favourable; they display an utter want of classification and intelligent system. . . . The records of attendances, if kept at all, are very imperfect. . . . The grand desideratum for these schools is the establishment of some means for providing them with a sufficiency of trained masters. Until this is done, it is useless to suggest minor improvements."²

The dockyard schools were also inspected and the unfavourable report which was issued on them resulted in the recommendation that a normal school should be established at Greenwich, similar to the one at Chelsea for the Army, and that a class of assistant schoolmasters and three grades of Royal Navy schoolmasters be established. The report of the Commission was very effective in introducing improvements into naval schools and before the end of the century many of the recommendations had been put into operation.

The First World War resulted in a great extension of education, but as compared with the Army, it was to a great extent scientific and technical. During the last war, when operational activities

¹ *Newcastle Commission on Popular Education*, Vol. I, p. 428, H.M.S.O., 1861.

² *Ibid.*, p. 435.

permitted, education was carried on in a way similar to that in the Army. Technical education has always been important since it is required for the seaman's work, *e.g.* mathematics for his training in gunnery. Courses of lectures, debates, classes in handicrafts, and vocational classes, were provided in the ports, and one interesting feature was a series of lectures delivered on board ship by well-known university professors who were flown to the Grand Fleet at Scapa Flow.

Besides technical education, an hour a week is given to current affairs and citizenship and basic education is compulsory. The work of the Navy demands a high educational standard in its ratings so that the problem of illiteracy does not exist. Basic education roughly corresponds to the Army general education, and is usually given at those times when the seaman is on training courses, mostly ashore. The education centres established at main bases at home or overseas are to be retained and attention is being given to education for leisure and resettlement. The educational facilities of the Navy apply to the W.R.N.S., and civilian lecturers provided by the C.A.C. are used at shore stations.

The Royal Navy has its own education officers, two on board each large ship—battleships, aircraft carriers, and battle cruisers—and one for smaller ships. Where the complement of a ship is too small to justify a full-time education officer, one of the ship's officers acts as part-time education officer. The naval education officer has not only administrative duties but the whole of the teaching work falls on him. Every ship has its library containing both educational and recreational books, and men and women preparing for professional examinations can make use of the Army correspondence courses.

The importance of technical training in the R.A.F. was mentioned in the account of education during the First World War. It has become vital under modern conditions. The ground staff includes skilled tradesmen, craftsmen and mechanics, and many of the officers are required to reach a very high standard of technical fitness. The technical training of the R.A.F. is shared between the technical officers who deal with the practical aspect of training and the educational officers who are responsible for the more theoretical work in mathematics, physical science, and engineering.

During the last war, the R.A.F. developed an education scheme similar to that of the Army and later, in order to prepare personnel

for demobilisation, a compulsory scheme known as E.V.T. (Educational and Vocational Training) was organised. The National Service man presents a special problem for the R.A.F. Many trades require more than a year's apprenticeship so that the National Service man must be allocated to those which require only a short period of training. For boys who intend to make the R.A.F. their career, a scheme for training aircraft apprentices exists. The course extends over three years and boys are selected by a competitive examination. A third of the time is given to mathematics, physics, mechanics, theory of flight and of structures, mechanical drawing, and the principles of the internal-combustion engine. The remainder is employed in physical training and games, English, history, and geography, and current affairs. The largest aircraft apprentice training centre is the School of Technical Training, Halton, Bucks. Other courses of training are provided for boys intending to take up clerical and administrative work and for those with more modest academic attainments.

The General Education Scheme of the R.A.F. mainly provides for part-time education for officers and men and women in the Service and the kind of training offered is similar to that of the Army. Each R.A.F. station has its complement of education officers based upon the numbers on the station. They undertake both teaching and administrative duties, but the latter take so much of their time that assistance is obtained from part-time teachers who may be civilians or members of the Service. Arrangements are made for R.A.F. personnel to use civilian educational facilities in technical schools and evening institutes and help is also given by lecturers from the Regional Committees.

In all three Services, the policy is to bring the education schemes into line with what is being achieved in civilian life and to integrate their efforts with the Further Education plans proposed by the Ministry of Education. The C.A.C. comes to an end on December 31st, 1948, but as the assistance of civilian teachers will still be needed by the Services, the universities, through their Extra-mural departments, have been invited to undertake the work now carried out by the Regional Committees.

CHAPTER XIV

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

Within the compass of one short chapter it is not possible to do more than present in outline the most significant events connected with the development of our English universities. Universities are one of the most important legacies bequeathed by the Middle Ages to the modern world. They originated in the latter half of the 12th century, which was a period of great intellectual activity comparable to the better-known Renaissance of a later age. Before the 12th century there were "schools" attached to certain cathedrals and monasteries but they lacked organisation and continuity. Their existence entirely depended upon the ability of the teachers connected with them. For example, the "school" of Chartres in the 11th and 12th centuries enjoyed a considerable reputation on account of a series of illustrious scholars who taught there.¹

The 12th century saw a renaissance of the study of Roman law, as collected and classified by the Emperor Justinian nearly 600 years before, and of Greek logic. The logical works of Aristotle were known only through fragments before this time, but by the middle of the 12th century, according to the witness of John of Salisbury, the whole of the *Organon* of Aristotle was available to the Western world in Latin translation. The earliest university was that of Salerno, but as this remained predominantly a medical school, it had little influence upon the growth of the English universities. The most important school of civil law was at Bologna, and later a school of canon law was added to it. The latter attracted students from all parts of Europe and gradually, towards the second half of the 12th century, the University of Bologna came into existence. As Bologna was essentially a law university, the most important development for our purpose was that taking place at Paris.

The cathedral "schools" of Notre-Dame and of the collegiate church of Ste. Geneviève became, in the early part of the 12th century, even more distinguished than the "school" of Chartres. At this time, William of Champeaux was head of the "school"

¹ Bernard of Chartres, died 1130; Theoderic of Chartres, died about 1155, whose disciple was John of Salisbury; and William of Conches (1080-1154), who was the tutor to Henry II of England.

of Notre-Dame and under his rule it became famous for its philosophical and theological teaching. It was to this "school" that Abelard came and disputed with William. Eventually, Abelard left his master and set up a rival "school." At the time of Abelard's death, 1142, there were three "schools" at Paris (Notre-Dame, Ste. Geneviève, and St. Victor), and the University of Paris developed from their union, at some time between 1170 and 1175. The University of Paris received a charter from Philip Augustus in 1200 and was recognised by the Pope in 1231, but it was an acknowledged institution many years before its official recognition. Its importance for us lies in the fact that it was the mother of our own ancient universities.

In the 12th century the word "university" had quite a different meaning from that which it bears to-day. *Universitas* simply meant a guild or corporation and there were universities of merchants and tailors as well as of scholars. For their own mutual benefit and protection, scholars and teachers formed themselves into associations, and we come across the terms *universitas scholarum* and *universitas magistrorum*. At Bologna, the wealthy students of law formed a university of scholars which was far more important than the teachers who were employed and ruled by them.¹ The University of Paris was an association of masters and served as the model for Oxford. Thus in mediaeval times the word *universitas* signified an association of scholars or masters and it was a later development to apply the term to the collection of buildings in which the teaching took place.

The usual mediaeval term for a university was *studium generale*. Any "school" or place of learning was a *studium*, but a *studium generale* was open to scholars from all lands and instruction was given in at least one "faculty" other than arts. In the 13th century, it became the custom for a *studium generale* to secure recognition through a Papal Bull which granted to the masters of the university the *ius ubique docendi*, the right to teach in any similar institution. In Chapter IX, we saw that the three pre-Reformation universities of Scotland were created in this way. Oxford received official confirmation of its rights and privileges by the Bull of Innocent IV in 1254. Pope John XXII declared Cambridge a *studium generale* in 1318. Dr. Coulton reminds us, "The universities rose and attained their great influence by the same natural growth which

¹ In Chapter IX attention was drawn to the point that St. Andrews and Glasgow were partly modelled on the plan of Bologna.

created trade unions in modern Britain and has made them, in their present power and organisation, almost a fourth estate of the realm. It is true that, by about 1300, lawyers had worked out the theory that papal or imperial licence was necessary for the founding of a university, but even these lawyers had to admit that long custom might count also, and that we might have a university "by custom" (*ex consuetudine*), as genuine as if it had been a papal or imperial foundation."¹

The origin of Oxford University is a matter of controversy. Dr. Rashdall's theory, in his *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*,² has been disputed. He believed that Oxford owed its beginning to the quarrel between Henry II and Becket, when all English clergy abroad were ordered by the King to return home. However this may be, there is clear evidence that a *studium generale* existed at Oxford about 1185. The origin of Cambridge is generally attributed to a quarrel between the scholars and the townsfolk of Oxford in 1209 which resulted in the migration of a large body of Oxford students to Cambridge.³ It is not certain whether a *studium* was already in existence at Cambridge before this time but, by 1231, there is documentary evidence of an organised university there.

Since both Oxford and Cambridge took Paris as a model, they reproduced its organisation. Each had its Chancellor, who was the head of the masters' guild, and although they had no Rector as at Paris, most of the latter's functions were carried out by two Proctors at each university, who were the chief executive officers. In the early days of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, students were divided into "Nations." At Oxford, students who came from north of the Trent formed the Northern and the remainder the Southern Nation. Scotsmen were in the former and Welshmen and Irishmen in the latter Nation. The two Proctors, although retaining the names of Northern and Southern, soon became representatives elected by the whole Faculty of Arts. Sometimes quarrels broke out between Northerners and Southerners. In 1261, at Cambridge, a riot between the Nations, in which the

¹ G. G. Coulton, *Medieval Panorama*, p. 395, C.U.P., 1938.

² O.U.P., new edition, 1936.

³ In 1334, a similar quarrel caused a migration of Oxford students to Stamford and produced such an impression that up to 1827 no man was allowed to take his master's degree at Oxford without taking an oath that he would never lecture at Stamford. It was on this occasion that the famous knocker of Brasenose was left at Stamford and remained there until it was bought back in 1890.

townsfolk joined, led to the plundering of houses and burning of records.

The collegiate system has long been the distinctive mark of Oxford and Cambridge. In the early days of the universities, scholars lived in what lodgings they could find and the masters taught in hired rooms. In Paris the custom grew up, and was followed at Oxford and Cambridge, of students living together in houses which they hired for themselves. It was usual to elect one member who was responsible for the rest. He was known as the *magister*, but it was not until later that he was obliged to be a Master of Arts. Gradually these *hospitia* or hostels came under the control of the university. Frequently the hostel was due to the public spirit of some benefactor who endowed a hostel for poor scholars. The earliest of these "houses of scholars" was that founded at Paris by Robert de Sorbon. In the middle of the 13th century, William of Durham endowed a "house" at Oxford known as Great University Hall, which became, about 1280, University College. The benefaction of Sir John Balliol was mentioned in Chapter IX. Some of the houses or halls received further endowments and when later they became recognised as legal corporations, they developed into colleges. The transition from a hostel to a college is illustrated by the foundation of Walter de Merton, Chancellor of England and Bishop of Rochester, who in 1264 provided not only the endowment and building for the "House of the Scholars of Merton" but drew up a code of statutes for the regulation of the corporate life of the Fellows. Further statutes had by 1274 completed the development of Merton from an endowed hostel into a self-governing college subject to a Warden, with Deans to watch over the morals of the Fellows and three Bursars to manage the property. Complaints against the Warden could be made to the Patron or Visitor, who had the authority to deprive the Warden of his office if necessary.

The statutes of Merton were for long regarded as models and when, in 1284, Peterhouse was founded at Cambridge, its statutes were based upon those of Merton. The growth of the secular colleges at the two universities was accompanied by the foundation of monastic colleges intended for the accommodation of regulars of particular orders. In the 13th century, the Franciscans and Dominicans also had their own foundations. The former order achieved international fame in the world of learning through the work of their doctors, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, and William of

Ockam. The latter two also held chairs at Paris which witnesses to the freedom of teaching prevalent in the mediaeval universities. The Dominicans were represented at Paris by two outstanding teachers and writers, St. Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great.

Lack of space forbids us to deal with the foundations of particular colleges of the universities. Wykeham's New College and its connection with Winchester College has already been mentioned (Chapter I). It was called New College to distinguish it from Merton, which had always been known as "the College."

It is a mistake to regard the mediaeval colleges as being designed for undergraduates. They were intended for Bachelors and Masters of Arts who were studying for higher degrees in law, theology, or medicine. "One foundation (All Souls) remains to-day as a reminder that a college can survive without undergraduates; in the 14th century such a college was the rule rather than the exception. Thus the number of those in residence at the earliest Oxford colleges was small and it has been estimated that in the middle of the 14th century the six colleges did not contain more than 73 members."¹ It was not until the 15th century that the number of undergraduates in the colleges began to grow and pensioners were admitted, *i.e.* students not on the foundation, who paid fees for tuition and maintenance.

There were frequent quarrels between the students and the townsfolk, who regarded them as lawless young men always creating disturbances. The students frequently complained of the extortionate prices demanded by the townsfolk for food and lodgings. Some fights between Town and Gown reached serious dimensions, such as that on St. Scholastica's Day, February 10th, 1354. It began in a tavern quarrel. Some Oxford clerks complained of the wine served to them in an inn near Carfax "The vintner giving them stubborn and saucy language, they threw the wine and vessel at his head." The innkeeper, on the advice of his friends, rang the bell of St. Martin's Church. The townsfolk assembled, and armed with bows and arrows, began to attack the students who in turn summoned reinforcements by ringing the bell of St. Mary's. In spite of statutes forbidding the carrying of weapons, the scholars appeared armed and the battle went on until night without a fatal casualty on either side. Unfortunately, the townsmen opened battle again on the next day and invaded the scholars' houses. This time, considerable numbers were killed and wounded. When the trouble

¹ S. C. Roberts. *British Universities*, p 13, Collins, 1947.

was investigated, the King supported the university and gave it jurisdiction over the city and control of the market. The town was placed under an interdict which was only lifted when the mayor, the bailiffs, and the chief citizens agreed to perform an annual penance. A similar riot took place at Cambridge in 1381.

The mediaeval student entered the university at the age of 14 or even earlier. He was expected to be able to speak fluently in Latin and after passing a test in the Trivium, he became an *inceptor* or commencing bachelor. He then passed to the subjects of the Quadrivium, which studies occupied him for three or four years. The range of studies was considerably enlarged in the latter half of the 13th century when reliable translations of the philosophical works of Aristotle had become available. The course in arts then became one in the mental and moral sciences which served as an introduction to theology, the queen of sciences. Space forbids the discussion of the intimate connection between the development of the universities and the growth of scholasticism due to the teaching of Albert the Great, St. Bonaventure, and St. Thomas Aquinas, at Paris, and of Duns Scotus and William of Ockam at Oxford.

The Master's degree was awarded on the result of a public disputation in which the candidate propounded a thesis and rebutted objections in strict syllogistic form. The first disputation in which the student engaged was known as the Determination and was the origin of the Bachelor's degree. The Inception as a Master was preceded by some form of examination and a disputation known as the Quodlibetica in which the candidate chose his own topic for discussion.

The demand made by the universities that all students should enter with an adequate knowledge of Latin contributed to the importance that this study held in the grammar school curriculum. The connection between the university and the grammar schools was very close at Oxford and Cambridge, where it was the custom to confer degrees in grammar. The conferment of the grammar degree was accompanied by a significant ceremony. At Cambridge, the candidate attended early mass at St. Mary's Church. "When mass is done, fyrst shall begynne the acte in Gramer. The Father shall have hys sete . . . the Proctor shall say, Incipiatis. When the Father hath argyude as shall plesse the Proctor, the Bedeyll in Arte shall bring the Master of Gramer to the Vyce-chancelar, delyveryng hym a Palmer wyth a Rodde, whych the Vyce-chancelar shall gyve to the seyde Master in Gramer, and so create hym Master. Then shall

the Bedell purvay for every master in Gramer a shrewde Boy, whom the master in Gramer shall bete openlye in the Scolys, and the master in Gramer shall give the Boy a Grote for Hys Labour, and another Grote to hym that provyde the Rode and the Palmer.”¹ It was in this way that the newly fledged Master proved his ability to teach in a grammar school.

The Renaissance and Reformation were responsible for a number of important changes in the universities. The introduction of Greek studies at Oxford and Cambridge has already been mentioned (Chapter II). During the 15th century, the reputation of Cambridge was much enhanced. Oxford had become greatly influenced by the teaching of Wycliffe and for this reason both Church and Crown favoured Cambridge. Attention was paid to the discipline of undergraduates. Statutes were promulgated prohibiting students from carrying arms and the disciplinary regulations were extended to those living in halls. Fines were imposed for breaches of the regulations. Gambling and practice with arms incurred a fine of fourpence. A farthing was exacted from students who shouted and sang when others were studying or wished to sleep. Those who came into the college after 8 p.m. in winter or 9 p.m. in summer, or spoke English in place of Latin, were fined a farthing. The penalty for sleeping out or bringing in a friend for the night without permission from the Principal was one penny. Regulations forbade the wearing of extravagant and unbecoming dress, and behaviour at table was controlled by rigid rules. Certain offences were punished by flogging, which is surprising at a period when the average age of students was rising rapidly.

One effect of the Renaissance was the foundation of new colleges. Corpus Christi was founded at Oxford by Bishop Fox of Winchester. His first intention was to found a monastery, but he was dissuaded from this by his friend, Bishop Oldham, the founder of Manchester Grammar School, who prophesied, “What, my lord, shall we build houses and provide livelihoods for a company of bussing monks whose end and fall we ourselves may live to see.” Corpus Christi was founded in 1516 and its statutes reflect the influence of the Renaissance. The studies of the students were to be mainly classical and two Readers in Greek and Humanity (Latin literature) were appointed. This was the first lectureship in Greek to be established at Oxford. It was ordered that the commentaries

¹ Quoted from R. S. Rait. *Life in the Mediaeval University*, pp. 136-7, C.U.P., 1912.

of the ancient fathers were to be used instead of those of the mediæval doctors which "are far inferior in learning as in date." Before their admission, students were to be able to "write off a Latin letter, to compose fair verses, to have been initiated into logic, and to have some little training in plain song." At Cambridge, Fisher was the first Professor of Divinity and it was his influence which encouraged Lady Margaret, mother of Henry VII, to found Christ's and St. John's Colleges

The outstanding Renaissance foundation was Christ Church, Oxford. Wolsey had contemplated building Cardinal College which should be the most magnificent home of learning in Europe, and in order to endow it, embarked on the dangerous precedent of suppressing a number of smaller monasteries and using their revenues for his foundation. When Wolsey fell from Royal favour, his foundation narrowly escaped suppression. Henry VIII stopped the work for a time, but in 1546 he allowed it to be continued and united the college under the name of Christ Church with the new bishopric of Oxford, transferred from Osney. This explains why the Dean of Christ Church became the head of a college and of a cathedral chapter.

The Reformation affected the universities by reducing the number of their students and the endowments of the colleges. There was for a time a danger that the universities might suffer the same fate as the monasteries, but Henry VIII was himself no mean scholar and replied to his courtiers whose appetite had not been sated by the spoils of the religious houses, "Sirs, I judge no land in England better bestowed than that which is given to our Universities." The convents and halls of the religious orders which had formed an important part of mediæval Oxford and Cambridge were suppressed. At first, Oxford showed considerable opposition to the religious changes, but Cambridge eagerly embraced Protestantism. For some time the attention of students and masters was focused on theological controversy rather than on sound learning.

With the accession of Elizabeth, the fortunes of the universities began to improve, but the Reformation had completely changed their mediæval character. Oxford had hitherto been the leading university but now Cambridge took this place, partly because it was a more staunch supporter of the Elizabethan settlement, and partly because Cecil, Lord Burleigh, Elizabeth's trusted Minister, was its Chancellor throughout the greater part of the reign. The number of undergraduates preparing for secular careers greatly increased.

The college system finally supplanted the halls and lodgings of mediaeval days. Students and masters were compelled to assent to the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Royal Supremacy.

A change took place in the type of student who entered the universities. The poor scholar of mediaeval times was fast disappearing, and as early as 1549 Latimer declared in a sermon preached before Edward VI, "There be none now but great men's sons in colleges and their fathers look not to have them preachers." The system by which Fellows of the college acted as private tutors to groups of about half-a-dozen students was developing. This new departure was on the whole good since the universities had grossly neglected the teaching of students, but it also had its weaknesses in the tendency for the tutor to neglect the poorer scholar in favour of the richer. William Harrison wrote in 1587, "The manner to live in these universities is not as in some other of foreign countries we see daily to happen, where the students are enforced for want of such houses to dwell in common inns and taverns, without all order or discipline. But in these our colleges we live in such exact order, and under so precise rules of government, as that . . . Erasmus . . . did not let to compare the trades in living of students in these two places even with the very rules and orders of the ancient monks. . . . In most of our colleges there are also great numbers of students, of which many are found by the revenues of the houses and other by the purveyances and help of their rich friends They were erected by their founders at the first only for poor men's sons, whose parents were not able to bring them up unto learning; but now they have the least benefit of them, by reason the rich do so encroach upon them. . . . In some grammar schools likewise which send scholars to these universities, it is lamentable to see what bribery is used; for, ere the scholar can be preferred, such bribeage is made that poor men's children are commonly shut out, and the richer sort received. . . . Besides this, being for the most part either gentlemen or rich men's sons, they oft bring the universities into much slander. For, standing upon their reputation and liberty, they ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparel and haunting riotous company (which draweth them from their books unto another trade); and for excuse, when they are charged with breach of all good order, think it sufficient to say that they be gentlemen, which grieveth many not a little."¹

¹ From *Life in Shakespeare's England* J Dover Wilson, pp 64-5, CUP, 1911.

In 1570, Elizabeth approved new statutes governing the universities which strengthened the independent position the colleges were achieving. This policy was followed by the early Stuarts. It was due to James I that the universities were accorded Parliamentary representation, which they retain until the provisions of the Representation of the People Act, 1948, come into force. Each university was given the right of choosing "two grave and learned men" to represent it in the House of Commons and to inform Parliament of "the true state of the Universities and of every particular college."

New colleges were being founded, *e.g.* Wadham, 1610, and Pembroke, 1624, at Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge, was rebuilt. The name of Archbishop Laud will always be associated with Oxford. He became its Chancellor in 1630, and in 1636 gave the university a set of statutes which governed it until the middle of the 19th century. They superseded the confused collection of existing statutes but strengthened the power of the colleges, especially the heads of colleges, as against that of the university. Laud also improved the discipline of the university and prescribed a scheme of examination for the B.A. and M.A. degrees. His work had identified the universities with the Royalists and one of the first acts of the Puritans when they gained power in 1644 was to expel from Cambridge, and afterwards from Oxford, all those who were not in sympathy with the Parliamentary cause. During the Civil War, Oxford was the Royalist headquarters, and only when Charles was finally defeated, did it surrender to Fairfax. Needless to say, during these turbulent years, the studies of the university suffered and only about 50 students graduated each year.

At the Restoration, the Fellows and Heads of colleges who had been expelled by the Puritans, came back. The Act of Uniformity, 1662, required the Heads of all colleges to conform to the Book of Common Prayer and those who refused were expelled. It was because of this that the Nonconformist academies described in Chapter III were opened. Wadham College, Oxford, played an important part in the founding of the Royal Society. The Puritans had expelled the Warden and many of the Fellows and appointed John Wilkins, brother-in-law to Cromwell, as Warden. Wilkins was a very distinguished scholar, and after the Restoration was made Bishop of Chester. Amongst his friends were John Wallis, who became Professor of Mathematics at Oxford in 1648, Sprat, afterwards Bishop of Rochester, the historian of the Royal Society, and Seth Ward, who became Savilian Professor of Astronomy.

These scholars were interested in the development of science and held regular meetings at Gresham College, London, and Wadham College, Oxford. Other members of the "Invisible College" were Sir Christopher Wren, who had been a commoner at Wadham, and Sydenham, the founder of modern medicine. It was after a lecture by Wren in 1660 that the proposal to form what was later the Royal Society was made. Two of the most prominent members of the Royal Society in the Restoration period were Robert Boyle and Isaac Newton, who became Professor of Mathematics at Cambridge in 1669. It was owing to Newton that Cambridge gained a reputation in mathematics which has been maintained ever since.

In the 18th century, the universities reached their lowest point. Cambridge was a strong supporter of the Whigs whilst Oxford was well known for its Jacobite sympathies. As mentioned in Chapter III. many members of the well-to-do classes preferred to have their sons in the charge of a private tutor rather than send them to the public schools and the universities. The number of admissions to Oxford and Cambridge fell rapidly and an increasing number of students left before taking their first degree. A number of new professorships had been established during the 17th and 18th centuries, but some Chairs were so poorly remunerated that they failed to attract men of learning and ability. Most of the actual teaching was undertaken by the college tutors. The Fellows were lazy and self-indulgent and were frequently compared with the monks of the 15th century. Gibbon's description of their habits is well known. "They were decent easy men, who supinely enjoyed the gifts of the founder, their days were filled by a series of uniform employments; the chapel and the hall, the coffee-house and the common room, till they retired, weary and well satisfied to a long slumber. From the toil of reading or thinking or writing they had absolved their conscience; and the first shoots of learning and ingenuity withered on the ground, without yielding any fruits to the owners or the public. Their conversation stagnated in a round of college business, Tory politics, personal stories and private scandal; their dull and deep potations excused the brisk intemperance of youth." The Fellows were in some respects to be pitied. Election to a Fellowship provided a poor student with what was relatively a good income for life, provided he remained celibate and lived in residence. Not all those obtaining election were such as to find fulfilment in a purely intellectual and academic life. The only escape was to obtain clerical preferment.

Trevelyan tells us that "no lecture was delivered by any Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge between 1725 and 1773, 'the third and most scandalous' of the holders of that Chair died in 1768 from a fall while riding home drunk from his Vicarage at Over."¹ At Oxford, two-thirds of the professors never lectured and those who did seldom had an audience. It is, however, only fair to mention that some Chairs were established for subjects not required for examination and hence such subjects attracted only a small number of students. The training of undergraduates was mainly in the hands of the college tutors and as these were not specialists, the English universities tended to become places where school studies were continued rather than seats of learning or research. Examinations were a complete farce. Lord Chancellor Eldon describes his examination in 1770 for a first degree. He presented himself in Hebrew and history. The first question asked was, "What is the Hebrew for the place of the skull?" When he replied, "Golgotha," he was then asked, "Who founded University College?" In deference to the ancient legend, Eldon answered, "King Alfred," whereupon the examiner declared, "Very well, sir, you are competent for your degree."

Vicesimus Knox, who was admitted to St. John's College, Oxford, in 1771, describes how the forms of the mediaeval disputations were still maintained. The candidate for the B.A. degree was obliged some time during the four years he spent at the university to "oppose" and "respond." This process was usually known as "doing generals." The topics for disputation were handed down from generation to generation and consisted of "foolish syllogisms on foolish subjects, of the foundation or significance of which the respondent and opponent seldom knew more than an infant in swaddling cloaths." On the day of examination, the respondent and opponent took their place in a large dusty room full of dirt and cobwebs. Here they had to sit opposite to each other for two hours. On rare occasions, an examiner would enter, listen for a few minutes to a syllogism and depart without saying a word. "The disputants would then return to the amusement of cutting the desks, carving their names, or reading Sterne's *Sentimental Journey*, or some other edifying novel." To complete his test for the degree, the candidate was obliged to "answer under bachelor," a form of disputation similar to the earlier one, and to present himself before

¹ G. M. Trevelyan. *English Social History*, p. 366, Longmans, Green, 1946.

the examiners who questioned him on the matter contained in a few little books of questions and answers which the candidate had spent three or four days in learning by heart. The examiners were Masters of Arts chosen by the candidate and were frequently his pot-companions. "If the vice-chancellor and proctors happen to enter the school . . . a little solemnity is put on." Otherwise, "the examiners and the candidates often converse on the last drinking bout, or on horses, or read the newspapers or a novel."

Cambridge never sank as deep in lethargy as Oxford and was the first to begin internal reforms. "In 1747-48 the first 'Tripos' list was published, and the name had a mediaeval origin. In the 15th century, the 'ould bachelor' who disputed with the candidates had sat on a three-legged stool and was known as 'Mr. Tripos'. . . he had been in the habit of writing frivolous verses on the subject of disputation. These were known as 'Tripos Verses' and survived after the 'ould bachelor' had disappeared from the scene. In 1747, the custom was begun of printing the candidates' names in order of merit on the back of the sheet of verses and hence the name Tripos came to be applied to the examination itself."¹ Cambridge introduced written examinations about 1772, and at Oxford the Public Examinations Statute added a written examination to the oral and introduced the distinction between pass and honours. The reforms at Oxford were due to Dr. Cyril Jackson of Christ Church (1783-1809), Dr. Parsons, who was Master of Balliol from 1798, and Dr. John Everleigh, the Provost of Oriel. The *viva-voce* test was retained but the written examinations began to carry more weight.

In spite of the prevailing deadness, however, there was still some life left in the ancient universities. Nearly 20 chairs, chiefly in science and mathematics, were established during the 18th century, and at Oxford the Ashmolean Museum was founded about 1682, when Elias Ashmole bequeathed to the university his collection of natural history curios, coins, and pictures. The exhibits were housed in the upper room, whilst the lower room and basement served as lecture rooms for the professors of philosophy and chemistry. Unfortunately, the endowment was small and the chemical laboratory was practically derelict by 1710. The separation of the classical and mathematical honour schools, making it possible for a candidate to gain a "double first," took

¹ S. C. Roberts. *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

place in 1807 at Oxford, whilst at Cambridge, in 1824, a second Tripos was established in Classics. The original had been in mathematics. Reform, however, moved very slowly on account of the resistance of the Heads of colleges who were opposed to change. By 1851, Cambridge had instituted the Triposes in Moral Science and Natural Science, and by 1850 the Oxford honour schools included mathematics, natural science, law, modern history, and theology.

The *Edinburgh Review*, which had been attacking the public schools, also turned its attention to Oxford and Cambridge. Strangely enough, the defence came from Copleston, Provost of Oriel (1814-27), who was the leading spirit in the reforming movement within the university, and Professor Archer remarks that the language used in the controversy "frequently went beyond what would now be considered seemly in academic discussions."¹

The most important influence at Oxford in the second quarter of the 19th century was the Tractarian or Oxford Movement. Its early leaders were Keble, Pusey, and Newman. In spite of the controversies it caused in the university, which reached a climax in Newman's secession to Rome in 1845, the Oxford Movement was responsible for giving a new direction to the English Church and for transforming it from the deadness into which it had fallen to become a great living spiritual force. The effect of the Oxford Movement upon the supporters of the national schools has already been discussed, but it also had considerable influence in the university itself in developing ideals of life and conduct. When Newman published, in 1852, his lectures to the "Catholic University

¹ The tone of the attacks on the universities may be judged from the following extracts from Sir William Hamilton's article in the *Edinburgh Review*: "On the Right of Dissenters to Admission into the English Universities," January, 1835. "Oxford is now a national school of perjury. The Infrant is made to swear that he will do, what he subsequently finds he is not allowed to perform. The Candidate for a degree swears that he has done, what he has been unable to attempt; and perjures himself, by accepting, from a perjured Congregation, an illegal dispensation of performances indispensable by law. The Professor swears to lecture as the statutes prescribe, and he does not. The reverend Heads of Houses, the academical executive, swear to see that the laws remain inviolate, and the laws are violated under their sanction, they swear to be vigilant for the improvement of the University, and in their hands the University is extinguished; they swear to prevent all false oaths, and for their own ends, they deliberately incur the guilt of perjury themselves, and anxiously perpetuate the universal perjury of all under their control. The academic youth have thus the benefit of early practice and high example. . . . Is it marvellous that England is a by-word among the nations, when the fountains of English morality and religion are thus poisoned at their source? How long is this to be endured?"

of Ireland" under the title of *The Idea of a University*, he included in them the ideals which were potent at Oxford in his day and skillfully blended them with Catholicism.

The reformers within the universities signed a memorial to the Prime Minister asking for a Royal Commission to be appointed to inquire into conditions at the two universities. A Commission was appointed for each university in 1850, and after their reports Acts of Parliament were passed which carried out certain of the recommendations (Oxford 1854, Cambridge 1856). The most important recommendation was "the restoration in its integrity the ancient supervision of the university over the studies of its members." The Acts broke down the oligarchy which had been established under the college system. The Laudian statutes were repealed and the whole constitution of each university revised. Elective councils consisting of representatives of Heads of college professors, and resident Masters of Arts, replaced the oligarchic Hebdomadal Council at Oxford, and the Caput at Cambridge. Private halls or hostels were once more permitted and the colleges were given new constitutions which freed them from the ties which had previously bound them to particular families or places and schools. Nonconformists were admitted without a religious test and were allowed to proceed to the B.A. degree. A further Act in 1871 abolished all religious tests except for students reading Divinity, and even this restriction has now been removed. A number of new professorships were established and the inadequate salaries attached to the existing chairs were increased from the revenues of certain colleges.

Until the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, Oxford and Cambridge had been the only two English universities. It is true that, in 1575, Sir Thomas Gresham, a wealthy London merchant, had bequeathed his City mansion to be the home of a college and had endowed seven professorships in divinity, civil law, medicine, rhetoric, astronomy, geometry, and music. Gresham College was opened in 1596, and as we have seen, played a part in the movement which led to the formation of the Royal Society, but it was never a university. During the Commonwealth, Parliament petitioned for the establishment of a university at London, and Cromwell was in favour of a university at Durham, but it was not until 1825 that the movement for the founding of the University of London became practical politics.

As we have seen, membership of the ancient universities was restricted to adherents of the Anglican Church and the wealthier section of the population. The studies of the universities were predominantly classical and mathematical, and those who were interested in the sciences, and wealthy manufacturers who desired a practical and technical education, were convinced of the need of a new institution for higher education. Thus there came about an alliance of all the dissatisfied elements, which included Liberals, Nonconformists, Roman Catholics, Jews, and all those who supported the scientific and the secularist movements. The only way of satisfying so many diverse points of view was the establishment of a new university from which religious teaching would be excluded.

The opening move was made by the poet Campbell, who contributed a letter to *The Times*, February 9th, 1825, in which he pleaded for the establishment of a "great London University." Campbell had visited, in 1820, the German University of Bonn and had been impressed by its constitution and its programme of studies. The letter was addressed to Henry Brougham, who supported the idea with great enthusiasm. It was also welcomed by Dr. Birkbeck, Francis Place, Zachary Macaulay, Joseph Hume, and other members of the "education-mad" party. Professor Archer writes, "That these tendencies were really inspired from Scotland there can be little doubt."¹ A large proportion of the supporters of the new university had been educated in Scottish universities and therefore had clear ideas about the kind of institution they wished to establish. They were in favour of a non-residential university at which the fees would be moderate and which, therefore, would be available for the middle classes.

A joint-stock company was formed, under the name of the Proprietors of the University of London, and subscriptions were invited. The tuition fee in all subjects except medicine was to be £25 per annum, and taking Bonn and the Scottish universities as a model, it was to be non-residential, but unlike them it was to be purely secular. The foundation stone of the London University was laid by the Duke of Sussex in Gower Street in 1827, and by October of the following year the University of London started its life. Classes were formed in arts, law, and medicine.

So far the new university was without a charter and its efforts to obtain one were successfully resisted by Oxford and Cambridge. Its secular constitution provoked much opposition.

¹ *Secondary Education in the XIX Century*, p. 105.

Thomas Arnold denounced it as "that godless institution in Gower Street" and many Nonconformists, among them the Headmaster of Mill Hill, agreed with him. When the council of the university considered approaching the Crown for a grant of a charter, the Anglican party was roused to action. The initiative was taken by Dr. George D'Oyly, Rector of Lambeth. He proposed the establishment of a second university in which religious instruction should be an essential part of the education provided. At a public meeting held in June, 1828, presided over by the Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington, a resolution was passed which agreed to the foundation of a new college where the doctrine and worship of the Church of England should be recognised. George IV had promised his patronage and the new institution received the name of King's College. It received its charter in 1829 and the college was opened in the Strand, near Somerset House, in October, 1831. It was anticipated that the endowments of the new foundation would be on a considerable scale, but Wellington's support of Catholic Emancipation offended many of the subscribers, who withdrew their patronage, and the college was left rather meagrely endowed.

The existence of two rival colleges, one of which was unchartered, was felt to be unsatisfactory. Efforts were made to unite them, but all proposals for union were rejected by King's. The older institution petitioned Lord Melbourne's Government for a charter, which was granted in 1836. It conferred on the older institution the title of University College. A compromise was reached which created the University of London with power to grant degrees, and students at King's and University Colleges could offer themselves as candidates. As Adamson says, "The movement intended to create a university in which colleges should have no place brought two colleges into existence and, incidentally, created a university whose teaching could only be given by those colleges."¹

The charter gave authority for the admission of candidates for degrees who were students in other institutions which provided education of a university type. Thus the University of London was primarily an examining body and had no essential connection with the colleges from which it sprang. King's and University Colleges continued as institutions for teaching and research, but remained for many years in this unsatisfactory relation with the university. By 1850, a large number of institutions, some of which

¹ J. W. Adamson. *A Short History of Education*, p. 280, C.U.P., 1919.

were nothing more than secondary schools, had been affiliated to the university.

The affiliation plan was abandoned in 1858, after which the University of London decided to award degrees solely on the results of examination. It accepted any candidate, whether he had pursued a recognised course in some institution of university rank or whether he had been prepared by private tuition. This state of affairs continued until 1898, when the University of London Act reconstituted the university with King's and University Colleges as its constituent members. The examination of "external students" was retained, but the needs of "internal students" attending courses in the constituent colleges of the university were met. Other colleges, such as Bedford College, Westfield College, and the Royal Holloway College for Women, Queen Mary College, Birkbeck College, the London School of Economics, and the Imperial College of Science and Technology, have since been incorporated into the University of London.

The addition of a large number of different institutions, some not even in London, has presented the University of London with a problem which has not troubled the other universities. It has been that of unifying a large number of institutions of varying origins and of different aims. At first, the inclusion of other institutions resulted in a complicated and unwieldy organisation. A Royal Commission under the presidency of Lord Haldane was appointed in 1910 to inquire into the peculiar problems of the University of London. It resulted in the University of London Act of 1926 which created a new constitution, but the problems of the university are by no means completely solved. In 1920, a site was acquired in Bloomsbury near the British Museum and a large administrative centre erected. This may help in drawing together the varied institutions that comprise the University of London.

The movement to include women in institutions for higher education was discussed in Chapter IV. The University of Durham was an ecclesiastical foundation and was endowed from the revenues of the see and cathedral chapter. It was established by Act of Parliament in 1832 which enabled "the Dean and Chapter of Durham to appropriate part of their church to the establishment of a university in connection therewith." The charter was granted in 1836. The university was of the residential type and its curriculum was modelled on that of the ancient universities. In 1874, Armstrong College, Newcastle-on-Tyne (founded as a college of

science in 1871), was incorporated into the university. Armstrong College is now known as King's College. Thus Durham at the present day represents a combination of two types of university. The older, situated in Durham itself, is reminiscent of Oxford and Cambridge with its strong clerical and Arts element. The inclusion of Armstrong College and the Medical College at Newcastle brought the university into close touch with modern life and industry. In 1908, the whole university was reconstituted into the Durham division containing University College, Hatfield, St Chad's, and St. John's, and the Newcastle division, containing Armstrong College. After the Royal Commission of 1937, Armstrong College was renamed King's College.

In the latter half of the 19th century, universities and university colleges developed in some of the larger towns of England and Wales. In Chapter XII, the growth of universities and university colleges from the University Extension movement was described. Other institutions owed their origin to the generosity of local benefactors. The earliest of the provincial colleges was Owens College, Manchester. Its origin was due to the merchant John Owens, who left the sum of £97,000 for its foundation. The college was opened in 1851, but for some years it had a hard struggle to maintain itself and the Press referred to it as "a mortifying failure." In 1861, it absorbed the Working Men's College, and by 1864 it had 127 day, and 312 evening, students. When the Taunton Commissioners visited Owens College they found an institution "organised somewhat after the fashion of the Scotch universities, having a principal and nine professors, teaching classics, mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, natural history, history, English literature, mental philosophy and political economy, jurisprudence, oriental and modern languages. As day and evening classes are held in these subjects, and periodical examinations conducted both by the professors themselves and by the University of London degree examiners, it may be easily seen that Manchester people enjoy opportunities of obtaining the higher education for their sons, and of thus filling up what may have been lacking to a short school training, such as are scarcely to be found elsewhere in England, at any rate out of the metropolis."¹ The Commissioners thought that the college was not sufficiently well supported by Manchester people and should have at least 400 to 500 day students. "The buildings of the college are in every way unsuited to its need, they stand in

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 719, H.M.S.O., 1868.

one of the most obscure parts of the city, and consist of small rooms in a private house, roughly adapted to their present purpose. Lying thus out of sight, the college has in a manner been out of mind also. I found people in Manchester who did not so much as know of its existence, while in some quarters its very newness and unsectarian character seem to have created against it an unworthy and groundless prejudice."¹ Mr. Bryce, who wrote this report, recommended the reorganisation and extension of the college.

In 1871, Owens College was given a new constitution and in 1874, women were admitted as students. Meanwhile, events were occurring on the other side of the Pennines which were to have repercussions on the fortunes of Owens College. As early as 1826, proposals had been made for the establishment of a University of Leeds, but the funds were not forthcoming to give them practical effect. In 1869, Lord Frederick Cavendish presided over a meeting in Leeds Town Hall which passed the resolution "that, in the opinion of this meeting, it is desirable that a College of Science should be established in Yorkshire." An appeal was made for funds, but the money came in so slowly that the project was at one time almost given up. By 1874, it was felt that a start should be made and the Yorkshire College of Science began its work in rented premises in Leeds. The declared aim of the college was "to supply instruction in those sciences which are applicable to the manufactures, engineering, mining, and agriculture of the County of York; also in such arts and languages as are cognate to the foregoing purpose." As the arts side developed, the college changed its name to that of the Yorkshire College in 1878. Its connection with the University Extension movement has already been mentioned (Chapter XII). The Clothworkers' Company of London supported the new college and in 1876 gave the sum of £10,000 towards building a textile department. In 1884, the Leeds School of Medicine, founded in 1831, was amalgamated with the Yorkshire College.

Owens College had hoped to achieve university status in 1875, but the Government was in favour of a federal university. The Victoria University received its charter in 1880, and Owens College was incorporated in it. Liverpool University College was founded in 1881 with the aim of becoming a college of the Victoria University and this took place in 1884. The Yorkshire College became a member of the confederation in 1887.

¹ *Schools Inquiry Commission*, Vol. IX, p. 720.

Birmingham University sprang from two separate Colleges. The first was Queen's College, which was originally a theological and medical school. The latter school prospered but the theological side disappeared. The second, Mason College, was opened in 1880 by Josiah Mason, who had been a pen manufacturer. Mason intended his college to offer a purely scientific and utilitarian education. Its title was the Mason Science College and it was designed to give instruction "adapted to the practical, mechanical, and artistic requirements of the manufactures and industrial pursuits of the Midland district." It was to have nothing to do with literary education, and theology was to be rigidly excluded. As the students were reading for London degrees which demanded literary subjects Mason was obliged to modify his position and in 1881 he admitted courses of study which would qualify students for degrees at London and in the Victoria University. The civic pride of Birmingham prevented the college from entering the Victoria University as a junior partner and through the efforts of Joseph Chamberlain, Birmingham received in 1900 its charter as an independent university.

This stimulated the constituent colleges of the Victoria University, who had long found the federal arrangement unsatisfactory, to make a bid for independence. Manchester and Liverpool received their charters in 1903, and Leeds in 1904. Firth College, Sheffield, developed into the University of Sheffield in 1905, and University College, Bristol, founded in 1876, became an independent university in 1909. University College, Reading, obtained its charter in 1926, and University College, Nottingham, obtained full university status in July, 1948. The latest comer is the University College of North Staffordshire which is in process of formation. The remainder of the institutions of university rank are the university colleges whose advancement to university status is a matter of time. These are University College, Southampton, the University College of the South-West of England at Exeter, and the more recent university colleges at Hull and Leicester.

The modern universities and university colleges fill a very important place in the English educational system. The University of London admits external students to its examinations and students at the university colleges read for external degrees of the University of London. Some of the modern universities have developed halls of residence for men and women students. Reading was a residential university from its early days

The modern universities have all developed strong arts sides but at the same time have established close connections with the industries of the districts in which they are situated. Thus Reading has given much attention to agriculture, Leeds to textiles and leather manufacture, and Sheffield to engineering. The universities are not merely establishments for higher education but they are giving increasing attention to research especially on the technological side. During both wars, the contributions of the British universities played a considerable part in the winning of final victory.

The modern universities in their early stages were all severely handicapped by lack of funds. In many cases, local donors made them large gifts which enabled them to extend their buildings and their work, but it was not until 1889 that the Treasury contributed to their upkeep. In that year the House of Commons voted the sum of £15,000 per annum to be distributed among the university colleges. The condition for participation in this grant was that colleges performed "an appreciable amount of advanced University work." This has generally been interpreted to mean the provision for post-graduate research as well as of courses for undergraduates. The annual grant continued to rise until, in 1911, a body known as the University Grants Committee was constituted. Thus the universities, except in the case of their teacher training departments, do not receive funds direct from the Ministry of Education. The members of the University Grants Commission are people with wide experience of the work and needs of the universities.¹ The grants for the year 1947-48 amount to £11,875,000 which includes grants to university colleges, teaching hospitals, and agricultural colleges. This arrangement has worked very well since it has preserved the autonomy of the universities. Every university is free to decide what it will teach, draw up its own syllabuses, and organise its own examinations for degrees and diplomas. Thus the disasters which have overtaken some of the State-controlled universities of the Continent are avoided. Most local education authorities also make grants to institutions of university status in their areas. Since 1922, the older universities have shared in the Government grant.

¹ The present terms of reference of the University Grants Committee are, "To inquire into the financial needs of university education in Great Britain; to advise the Government as to the application of any grants made by Parliament towards meeting them; to collect, examine, and make available information on matters relating to university education at home and abroad; to assist, in consultation with the universities and other bodies concerned, the preparation and execution of such plans for the development of the universities as may from time to time be required in order to ensure that they are fully adequate to national needs."

The older universities have moved with the times. A Royal Commission of 1872 resulted in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act of 1882. This allowed a Fellow to retain his Fellowship on marriage. Life fellowships were abolished and prize fellowships for research were instituted. The system of entrance scholarships was reorganised so that a common standard was applied and the colleges were required to contribute according to their income towards university funds. New colleges had been founded, *e.g.* Keble at Oxford in 1870, and Selwyn at Cambridge in 1882. Both of these are associated with the Church of England. A system of inter-collegiate lectures was instituted which all honours students could attend. Another Royal Commission, 1919, led to the promulgation of new statutes in 1926. The authority of the university over its colleges was increased and all lectures became university lectures. New honours schools and triposes have been created and both Oxford and Cambridge have taken a leading place in scientific and medical research.

The movement to found a Welsh university was due to the efforts of Sir Thomas Phillips, Sir Hugh Owen, and the Rev. Henry Griffiths. St. David's College, Lampeter, had been opened in 1827 and possessed a charter giving it authority to confer the degrees of B.A. and B.D. As Lampeter was definitely associated with the Anglican Church this did not satisfy Welsh aspirations. In 1849, Phillips cited the example of the foundation of Durham University as a claim for establishing a Welsh university. One result of the agitation was the founding of a training college at Bangor. Owen was the heart and soul of the movement that led to the opening of a college at Aberystwyth in 1872, in which the students read for the degrees of the University of London. The college had a hard struggle to make ends meet and the Welsh Members of Parliament pressed for Government aid. The result was the Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Aberdare, which recommended the foundation of two colleges both of which should receive Government grants. The problem was to decide the position of these two colleges. Whilst matters were under consideration, a grant was made to Aberystwyth which served as a precedent for the grants subsequently given to the English university colleges. An interesting situation developed. Both Cardiff and Swansea claimed the right of having a university college. Cardiff was successful and its college was opened in 1883. North Wales was not satisfied with Aberystwyth and claimed a college of its own, which was opened

at Bangor in 1884. This, however, resulted in the Government grant being taken away from Aberystwyth and being given to the two new colleges, an action which roused Aberystwyth to fight for its existence. The outcome was that the Government decided to give a grant to all three colleges.

The establishment of a system of good secondary schools by the Welsh Intermediate Education Act of 1889 produced a large number of pupils who were fitted to enter upon a university course. Once more the agitation for the establishment of a Welsh university began. In 1888 a conference of the three colleges had already suggested the creation of a federal university on the lines of the Victoria University. Eventually, owing to the support of Lord Aberdare and Viriamu Jones, the Welsh gained what they wanted and in 1893 the University of Wales came into existence. It consisted of the three constituent colleges of Aberystwyth, Bangor, and Cardiff, to which later were added the Technical College at Swansea and the National School of Medicine at Cardiff.

St David's College, Lampeter, possesses the power, by Charter, of conferring the degree of B.A. (candidates need not be ordinands) and B.D. It is affiliated to Oxford and Cambridge.

CHAPTER XV

EDUCATION IN SCOTLAND—1872-1947

The Education (Scotland) Act of 1872 was a much more comprehensive measure than the English Elementary Education Act of 1870. The latter was only concerned with elementary education, but the Scottish Act dealt with both elementary and secondary education. Its object was "to amend and extend the provisions of the Law of Scotland on the subject of Education," and in the preamble its aim was further defined as that the means "of procuring efficient education for their children may be furnished and made available to the whole people of Scotland." The preamble also declared that the religious basis of education was to be retained "And whereas it has been the custom in the public schools of Scotland to give instruction in religion to children whose parents did not object to the instruction so given, but with liberty to parents, without forfeiting any of the other advantages of the schools, to elect that their children should not receive such instruction, and it is expedient that the managers of public schools shall be at liberty to continue the said custom."

The Act created a central authority for education and representative local authorities for administrative purposes. The former was to be the Scotch Education Department which was to consist of "the Lords of any Committee of the Privy Council appointed by Her Majesty on education in Scotland," but to assist in putting the Act into operation, an interim Board of Education of five members sat in Edinburgh. When it came to an end in 1878, its duties devolved on the Scotch Education Department. The President of the Committee of the Privy Council was the Lord President of the Council. The Committee was given compulsory powers over the local authorities and was responsible for the administration and distribution of the Parliamentary grants for education in accordance with an annual Code submitted for the approval of Parliament. The Education Department had authority to conduct an annual inspection of schools and could legislate through Minutes, which, when approved by Parliament, had the same force as an Act. The chief executive officer was the Permanent Secretary, who was directly responsible to the head of the Department.

Local administration was conducted by 984 popularly elected School Boards which corresponded on the whole with the existing parish or burgh areas. The minimum membership of a School Board was five, and the maximum 15. All existing schools established by previous Acts of Parliament were transferred to the School Boards and the authority of the Church over these schools was abolished. Thus, all schools, parish or burgh, whether academies, high schools, or grammar schools, were to be handed over to the School Boards. These schools had been the property of the heritors, presbyteries, town councils, and other bodies, but none of these sought or received compensation for the transfer of their buildings. If they did not wish to transfer their schools (as was the case with the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians), they had to maintain them at their own expense. Schools administered by the School Boards were termed Public Schools, the remainder, Voluntary Schools.

The first duty of the newly elected School Boards was to survey their districts and estimate the number of school places required to meet the deficiencies. They had the power of levying a local rate and of borrowing money for enlarging existing schools or building new ones. The School Boards also fixed the amount of the school fees, appointed or dismissed teachers and paid them their salaries. There was as yet no statutory salary scale. In accordance with a conscience clause, the Boards decided upon the kind of religious education to be given and were responsible for receiving and distributing the Parliamentary grants paid to them by the Education Department. Since the grants were paid to the School Boards according to the Minutes of the Department, the authority of the Department was assured. All children under 13 were compelled to attend school, and those parents who were unable to pay school fees could apply to have them paid by the Parochial Board. Parents who did not fulfil their duty by seeing that their children received elementary education in reading, writing, and arithmetic, were liable to penalties.

The Public Schools consisted of two types, State-aided elementary schools and Higher Class Public Schools. The latter included most of the former burgh schools which, unlike the English grammar schools, now came under the authority of the School Boards. These schools were defined by the Act as those which gave instruction in Latin, Greek, modern languages, mathematics and natural science, and the higher branches of knowledge generally. They received no

grant from the Education Department but had to depend upon fees, revenues from endowments, and sums paid from the Common Good. Fees were the chief means of support, and since the Scottish secondary fees had always been moderate, they only sufficed to pay the teachers' salaries. Consequently, for some years the higher class public schools had a difficult struggle for existence, until in 1892 they were able to share in the benefits of the Education and Local Taxation Act, by which the sum of £60,000 was transferred to the Department to aid secondary education.¹

It will be seen that although the Act attempted to define a higher class public school, it made no effort either to define secondary instruction or to limit it to any one type of school. As we saw in the earlier chapter on Scottish education, many parish schools had been providing what was in fact a secondary education for their brighter pupils, and had sent some of them direct to the universities. It was the intention of the Act to encourage this. Clause 67 provided that the Scotch Education Department was to take due care in the construction of its Minutes, not to lower "the standard of education which now exists in the public schools." Thus secondary education could be given both in the higher class public schools and in the State-aided elementary schools.

In addition, a third type of school, the Higher Class School, was recognised. These schools comprised certain endowed, private, or subscription, schools such as the Academies of Edinburgh and Glasgow, St. Andrews Madras College, the Dollar Institution, Fettes College, Merchiston, and Loretto. Some of these schools eventually came under the management of the School Boards, but the endowed schools increased in number, and owing to the gifts of wealthy benefactors and to Acts permitting the "diversion" of hospital endowments, they achieved a financially secure position. One weakness of the Act lay in the lack of provision of a common point of contact between the three types of school in which secondary education could be given.

A further defect was the omission of guidance with regard to the aim of secondary education. One might have thought that some

¹ The Elementary Education Act of 1891 for England and Wales provided for a fee grant of 10s. per year for each child in average attendance. If the managers accepted the fee grant, no fees were to be charged for children between the ages of 3 and 15. Scotland was entitled to an "equivalent grant" which was applied to assist secondary education in the way described in the text. Certain secondary schools, as in England, were receiving grants from the Science and Art Department, South Kensington.

reference would have been made to the relations between the secondary schools and the universities, but the only reference to the latter was in Clause 62 which was concerned with the qualifications of teachers. The consequence was that secondary education was left in a state of utter chaos. As in England, there seemed to be no clear ideas about the aim and scope of the secondary school.

Many of the School Boards were responsible for such small districts that they were not adequate to carry out the ever-increasing duties which subsequent Minutes of the Department thrust upon them.¹ Nevertheless, for the first few years there was much enthusiasm shown by the new local authorities and the building and enlargement of schools proceeded rapidly. A modified version of the system of Payment by Results was still in operation and continued for some years, with the effect of narrowing the work and outlook of the elementary schools.

In 1885, the Scotch Education Department was reorganised as an independent Committee of Council on Education and its first Secretary was Mr. (later Sir) Henry Craik. He was an extremely able administrator and his previous experience as a senior examiner of the old Department had shown him the needs of Scottish education. One of his first actions was to rid the schools of any traces of Payment by Results. His new Code in 1886 contained many changes. It abolished the examination in the three R's in all classes below Standard III, restricted Specific Subjects² to classes above Standard V, and enriched the curriculum by making English, history, geography, elementary science, and drawing, class subjects in all elementary schools. In 1890, individual examinations were abolished in the senior classes of State-aided schools and at the same time the number of Specific Subjects was reduced.

¹ "That there were so many small School Boards may come as a surprise to educationists of to-day. A few cases, chosen at random, are worth recording:

<i>School Board</i>	<i>Total Population of Parish</i>	<i>School Board</i>	<i>Total Population of Parish</i>
Stirling (Landward) ..	85	Cranshaws (Berwick) ..	142
Morham (Haddington) ..	204	Glendevan (Perth) ..	105
Dolphinton (Lanark) ..	231	Meonzie (Fife) ..	154
Lynne (Peebles) ..	174	Lunan (Forfar) ..	248"

Quoted from the *Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1946.

² The Specific Subjects were introduced by the Code of 1873, which was an attempt to carry out the provisions of Clause 67 of the Act by furnishing instruction in the "University Subjects"—Latin, Greek, and Mathematics. Other subjects were added to these, making a total of 13. Instruction in any of these subjects, under conditions laid down by the Code, could earn a specific grant; hence the name.

Craik next turned his attention to freeing elementary schools from fees. By 1893, elementary education was free throughout Scotland for children from 3 to 15 years of age. It was due to Craik that Scotland obtained her share of the money which came through the Education and Local Taxation Act. The four universities were given £30,000, and as was mentioned above, £60,000 was assigned for the encouragement of secondary education. A Secondary Education Committee was established in each county and the five largest towns for the distribution of the grant. In this way, he anticipated the Act of 1918.

Perhaps his greatest achievement was the institution of the Leaving Certificate Examination in 1888 which did much to lift secondary education out of chaos and provide it with an aim and direction. Inspection of the higher class public schools began in 1886 and the institution of the Leaving Certificate was a result of the inspection. The examination was taken by pupils from both types of public school, State-aided elementary and higher class, and later it was taken by those higher class schools which were not under the control of the School Boards. This tended to bring their curricula and aims into line with one another, and to set up a link between the schools and the universities, since the latter accepted the School Leaving Certificate under certain conditions, in lieu of their own entrance examinations. The Scottish Leaving Certificate was normally taken a year later than the English School Certificate and thus university candidates often proceed direct to the universities, entering a year younger than students in England. It was also recognised by a large number of professional bodies as giving exemption, under stated conditions, from their own preliminary examinations. Thus, in Scotland, the equivalent of the School Certificate Examination had been in existence more than a quarter of a century before a similar idea was adopted in England. It should be noted that, while in England, the universities examined for the School Certificate, in Scotland the examination was conducted by the Education Department. Some of the "Scottish Public Schools" such as Fettes, present their pupils for the School and Higher School Certificates of the English universities. As in England, candidates were required to pass in certain groups of subjects, but since 1937 the only obligatory subjects have been English, arithmetic, and either history or geography. After 1939, the certificate was known as the Senior Leaving Certificate and testified to the satisfactory completion of a five-year course of

secondary education. In all subjects except English, the examination may be taken in a higher or a lower grade; English is on a higher grade only.

In 1892, a leaving certificate called the Merit Certificate was instituted for elementary schools. Award of the certificates was to scholars over 13 years of age who satisfied the inspector that they had attained a standard of efficiency in the three R's, in two Class subjects, and one Specific Subject.

Craik also introduced reforms into scientific and technical education and in 1899 established a system of higher grade schools. Eventually, pupils were able to continue their education in these schools until 17 or 18 years of age and could present themselves for the School Leaving Certificate. As in England, the higher grade school became, in reality, another type of secondary school.

The school-leaving age was raised to 14 in 1901 and special courses of instruction were arranged for pupils between 12 and 14, thus recognising a break at 12 between primary and post-primary education. The post-primary courses were known as Supplementary Courses and the Merit Certificate, for which the age qualification was reduced to 12, marked the division between primary and post-primary education. In 1903, a qualifying examination was substituted for the Merit Certificate and its purpose was to select those pupils who would benefit from a course of post-primary education. This was in effect an unfortunate change, since, like the Free Place examination in England, the examination tended to turn the upper classes of the junior school into cramming institutions. "On paper the new plans looked promising, but their development was far from satisfactory. A certain element of gradation was introduced into the whole school system. The common foundation was the primary school, terminating for the average pupil about the age of twelve. The successful completion of that stage was tested by means of a qualifying examination implying a knowledge of fundamentals sufficient to justify promotion to a higher stage. A pupil, on passing that examination, was free to go on to secondary education in a higher grade or higher class school, or to enter upon the supplementary course of a primary school. . . . Educationally the supplementary courses did not prove a success except in the larger towns where the work was centralised. . . . The courses were not secondary, and compared with secondary courses they were generally inferior in premises and

equipment. . . In the eyes of the industrial and commercial world they were not considered as equivalent to secondary schools”¹

Although Sir Henry Craik gave up his post in the Education Department in 1904, he still retained his interest in education and as M.P. for the Universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, he continued to work for the cause of education until his death in 1927. His successor in the Department was Sir John Struthers who had been working in co-operation with Craik since 1898

Until 1901, students in training for the teaching profession were examined and certificated by the Department. Craik abolished the external examination. Training colleges submitted their syllabuses for the approval of the Department, from this year, and when approved, the colleges were empowered to conduct their own examination, the inspectors acting as external assessors. Training college authorities recommended candidates, on the results of this examination, to the Department for certification or failure. The system worked very well and led to a rise in the standards of instruction in the colleges. It was an anticipation of the Joint Board arrangement adopted in England in 1930. The establishment of the supplementary courses led to a demand for increased numbers of well-qualified teachers. To meet the need, a Minute of the Department, January, 1905, reorganised the training of teachers and placed the responsibility for it upon four Provincial Committees connected with the universities. The following year, new regulations governing the training and certification of teachers were issued and the grants to secondary schools were overhauled.

Struthers accentuated the separation between primary and post-primary education. He realised that this policy was opposed to Scottish tradition which had always considered the parish schools as one of the sources supplying secondary education, but he saw that the rising standards demanded by the universities required also a corresponding improvement in the secondary schools. The parish schools, especially in rural districts, had neither the buildings nor the staff nor the equipment to undertake successfully the task of secondary instruction. Greater efficiency could be obtained if secondary education were restricted to certain well-equipped schools in each county and the remaining schools concentrated on elementary education. The reorganisation was strenuously opposed by Professor Laurie who viewed with apprehension what he regarded

¹ *Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland*, pp. 155-6, Edinburgh, 1946.

as an encroachment of a Government department upon the freedom of the schools.

The time was now ripe for new legislation and the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908 marked an important step towards the unifying of Scottish schools. "It gave broader and fuller interpretation to the scope of education. It was the first Scottish Act to recognise that there is an essential unity in educational agencies, and that one of the most important problems of education is the improvement of the physical condition of the people. It enlarged the functions of education till they included practically everything connected with the well-being of the child physically and morally as well as intellectually."¹ The Act retained the School Boards and gave them wide powers of a permissive character. Thus, provision was made for the medical examination and supervision of pupils in school. The report of the Physical Deterioration Committee of 1904 had stirred up public opinion and certain School Boards (Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Kirkcaldy, and Govan) had already experimented with schemes of medical inspection. This was not confined to the State-aided schools but applied to all scholars attending schools in the districts of those School Boards. The Act empowered School Boards to make special provisions for the education of physically or mentally defective children and prescribed penalties for parents who neglected their children. If, by reason of poverty, a child was unable, because of lack of food or clothing, to take advantage of the education given, the School Board had the power to provide food or clothing for the child. School Boards could also issue orders compelling the attendance of children between the ages of 5 and 14, and were empowered to establish by bye-laws compulsory continuation classes for pupils up to the age of 17. The curriculum of continuation classes was to include instruction with reference to the crafts and industries of the district (including agriculture and the domestic arts), the study of English language and literature (also the Gaelic language and literature in Gaelic-speaking districts) and instruction in the laws of health with opportunity for suitable physical training.

The Act brought into being a superannuation scheme on a contributory basis which applied to both elementary and secondary teachers. The different sources of income available for higher education were consolidated into one central fund known as the

¹ Alexander Morgan *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education*, p. 184, Oliver and Boyd, 1927.

Education (Scotland) Fund. Provision was made for applying the fund to primary, secondary, and university education through the County and Burgh Committees on Secondary Education. This anticipated the next advance in 1918 when the county, instead of the parish, became the unit of educational administration and presented a parallel with England when the distribution of "Whiskey Money" through the county councils paved the way for the establishment of the L.E.A.'s of the 1902 Act. Thus for the first time, secondary education was put on a satisfactory financial basis. The teachers' security of tenure was defined and the procedure to be followed in the case of a teacher's dismissal was detailed. The Act also gave power to the School Boards to provide conveyance or pay the travelling expenses of teachers and pupils in sparsely populated districts who were attending a central school and to award bursaries to enable deserving scholars to proceed to secondary schools and institutions for higher education.

The supplementary courses were retarded by the growth of higher grade schools and between 1905 and 1907, the policy of the Department was to bring about a fusion of the curriculum of the higher grade schools with that of the intermediate departments of secondary schools and to permit the former to offer an intermediate course in preparation for the intermediate certificate. Two distinct types of post-primary education thus came into existence; intermediate, providing a three-year course of instruction in languages, mathematics, and science (cf. the English Selective and Non-selective Central schools), and secondary, which offered a five-year course of instruction leading to the Leaving Certificate. The intermediate certificate was valued so highly that there was a definite tendency for some pupils to remain in the higher grade schools for more than the three years. Nevertheless, a large proportion of pupils failed to complete the three-year course. The influence of the higher grade schools was exerted in two directions—their curriculum was of a more practical type than that of the secondary schools and thus helped to widen the conception of secondary education, and, as happened in England, some of them developed into secondary schools presenting their pupils for the School Leaving Certificate and in this way modified the secondary curriculum.

As in England, an Education Act followed the First World War. The smaller School Boards had proved themselves incapable of carrying out the increased responsibilities placed upon them by the Act of 1908, and the efficient work performed by the County

and Burgh Committees on Secondary Education, suggested that the parish was far too small a unit for educational administration. When the Bill was presented to Parliament, it had been intended to follow the example of England in making the county councils the local education authorities, but the Scottish tradition was too strong, and *ad hoc* authorities were substituted. Like the English Act of 1902, the Scottish Act created a partnership between the central and local authorities. The central authority became the Scottish in place of the Scotch Education Department created by the Act of 1872. The 947 School Boards (some had been amalgamated since 1872) gave place to education authorities (5 burghs and 33 counties). The five burghs were Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Leith. The result was that 5,651 School Board members were replaced by 987 members of the new authorities which were elected every three years by a system of proportional representation. Later, Leith was amalgamated with Edinburgh. Each local authority was given the duty of preparing and submitting to the Department, schemes for the constitution of school management committees for managing schools or groups of schools to be placed under their control. Parents were to be represented on each school management committee and teachers could also be nominated for appointment on the committees. The powers and duties of the committees were limited in regard to finance and control of expenditure, the acquisition of land, the appointment, transfer, remuneration, and dismissal of teachers and certain other matters.

The Act enunciated the principle that no child who was qualified for entry to an intermediate or secondary school should be debarred by reason of poverty and authorities had power to assist by paying travelling expenses, or fees, or the cost of residence in a hostel, or to grant bursaries and pay maintenance allowances in cases of hardship. The education authority might also provide books not only for children and young persons attending schools and continuation classes but also for adults in the district and for this purpose it could make suitable arrangements with the public libraries. Every authority had to submit to the Department its scheme for providing primary, intermediate, and secondary education in its area and for the maintenance and support of a limited number of fee-paying schools. Perhaps one of the most important sections of the Act is that which directed the authority to institute a scale of salaries for its teachers in conformity with the conditions to be laid down by

the Department in consultation with representatives of the education authorities and the teaching profession. Dr. John Strong, then Rector of the Royal High School, Edinburgh, and afterwards Professor of Education in the University of Leeds, played a leading part in the institution of the salary scales.

The education authorities were permitted to aid in supplying nursery schools for children between the ages of 2 and 5. They could also contribute, if they thought it necessary, towards the maintenance of schools not under their own management, or to universities. Each education authority was to contribute to the maintenance of training colleges such sums as the Department might determine. The amount of such contributions would depend upon the number of teachers employed by an authority. The school-leaving age was to be raised to 15 on a date to be announced by the Education Department and no exemptions from attendance were to be granted to children under the age of 13.

Like the corresponding English Act, pupils leaving school at 15 were to attend continuation classes till 16 and eventually up to 18 years of age. Schemes for the education of these continuation class pupils were to be submitted to the Department and were to provide for instruction in English language and literature and such other parts of a general education as might be deemed desirable; special instruction conducive to the efficiency of young persons in the employment in which they were engaged or proposed to be engaged; and instruction in physical exercises adapted to their age and physique. It was hoped that advantage would be taken of holiday camps, Boys' Brigades, and kindred organisations. As in England, the instruction was to amount to at least 320 hours a year, arranged to suit the particular conditions of the district. Restrictions on the employment of children under 13 were to be in force. (The age in England, was 12.)

Voluntary or denominational schools might, with the consent of their trustees, be transferred to the local education authority which was bound to accept the transfer on terms such as might be agreed upon. This amended the Act of 1872 under which School Boards were not bound to accept the transfer. Transferred schools became public schools and teachers appointed to them would have to satisfy the Department as regards their qualifications and be approved as to their religious belief and character by the representatives of the Church or denomination in whose interests the school was conducted. No school could be transferred later than two years from the passing

of the Act, and after that date no grant could be paid to a voluntary school which had not been transferred. Clause 20 of the Act authorised the establishment, by His Majesty in Council, of an Advisory Council to assist the Department on educational matters. The Department should take into consideration any advice or representation submitted by the Advisory Council. Not less than two-thirds of the members of the Council should be persons qualified to represent the views of various bodies interested in education, *e.g.* representatives of education authorities, universities, the Educational Institute of Scotland as representing the teachers and other bodies connected with education. The remainder would consist of persons of wide experience and expert knowledge of the industrial, social, commercial, and economic aspects of the national life. The Council could initiate representations to the Department on matters of educational policy or administration. Its functions were, therefore, wider than those of the Consultative Committee of the English Board of Education and similar to those of the two Central Advisory Councils established by the Act of 1944.

Every education authority was obliged, within three months of its first election, to establish a Local Advisory Council consisting of persons qualified to represent the views of local bodies interested in education. The Local Advisory Council had the duty of advising the education authority on educational matters relating to its area and the latter was obliged to consider any advice or representation proffered.

The Scottish Act of 1918 suffered the same fate as the English Act. Owing to the operation of the "Geddes Axe," that part of the Act dealing with the raising of the school-leaving age, and with the institution of compulsory continuation classes, was not carried into effect.

The first Circular issued by the new Scottish Education Department advised each local authority to appoint a full-time Director of Education as technical adviser to the authority and chief executive officer responsible for carrying out the schemes of reorganisation. The duties of the Directors were neither simple nor popular since the Act was resented by many who believed in the tradition of the parish school providing both elementary and secondary education. In 1921, Struthers announced the Department's policy of reorganisation in Circular 44 which contained many drastic reforms. The issue of the Circular had been preceded by a simplification of the grant system by which a uniform annual

grant per pupil was to be paid irrespective of the type of school, primary, intermediate or secondary. Since the grants no longer depended upon examinations, the qualifying and the intermediate examinations were abolished. This was a much-needed reform, because the examinations had completed their work in raising the standards of all types of school and were now beginning to dominate both the curriculum and the teaching of the schools. Thus only two types of school were now recognised: primary and secondary. The former was for pupils leaving at the age of 14 and was organised in the following divisions: Infants for children under 7, Juniors (ages 7 to 9), Seniors (ages 9 to 12) and an Advanced division for pupils between the ages of 12 and 14 or 15. Pupils who had completed with satisfaction a two-year course in the Advanced division could gain the award of the Day School Certificate (Lower). The certificate was issued by the local education authority. For those who completed satisfactorily a three-year Advanced course, the Education Department issued a Day School Certificate (Higher). To gain this certificate, pupils normally offered four subjects. English, with history and geography, was compulsory. The second subject was determined by the character of the course followed by the pupil, literary (a foreign language), commercial, technical domestic, or rural. The third was arithmetic, with algebra in commercial courses. The fourth subject could be science, arts and crafts, or any subject not already selected.

The secondary school course extended for five years with the Senior Leaving Certificate as its goal. The reorganisation met with much adverse criticism both in the Press and from the Educational Institute of Scotland which had for many years urged a national system of education embracing all stages from the primary school to the university and ensuring a full secondary education for all pupils.

In 1920 there was a further development in the arrangements for the training of teachers. The administration of the training scheme was handed over to a National Committee for the Training of Teachers and the four Provincial Committees, who were now relieved from financial responsibility, were given the management of the four training centres at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews. By agreement, the Episcopal and Roman Catholic training colleges were transferred to the National Committee which now controls all the training institutions in Scotland. Since 1924, except for teachers of handicraft, physical training, art, music, and

domestic science, all Scottish men teachers must be graduates. Although women teachers need not be graduates an increasing number of them are.

As soon as the period of financial stringency had passed, local authorities began to experiment with different types of post-primary organisation. Some preferred to house the advanced divisions and the secondary courses in separate schools. In some districts, separate central schools were established for advanced division pupils whilst in many country areas, advanced division "tops" to the primary school were common. Some authorities preferred to include the advanced division in the secondary school and this experiment led to the "omnibus" type of school which is similar in some ways to the English multilateral school.¹

In 1936, Parliament passed the Education (Scotland) Act which was similar to the English Act of the same year. This Act extended the school-leaving age to 15, with certain exemptions, and applied the term "Secondary" to all forms of post-primary education. As in England, the outbreak of the Second World War rendered the Act inoperative.

The Local Government (Scotland) Act of 1929 transferred the function of the *ad hoc* education authorities, established in 1918, to the county councils of the counties and the town councils of the four burghs of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Each of these became the local education authority for its area and was required to appoint an education committee as in England.

After the Second World War, Parliament passed the Education (Scotland) Act of 1945, followed by a consolidating Act in 1946, which brought together all the enactments concerning education in Scotland. The Act of 1945 applied to Scotland the policy that the Government had decided upon with regard to England, but there are certain differences between the Scottish Act and the English Act of 1944. Thus Scottish education did not have to deal with the problems caused in England by the Dual system. Other important differences should be noted. The County Colleges of the English Act are called Junior Colleges. Clause 11 provides that primary, secondary and compulsory further education, in public schools and junior colleges shall be free, but local authorities may charge fees in some or all of the classes in a limited number of primary and secondary

¹ For the details concerning experiments in post-primary education between 1918 and 1936, the reader should consult Newman A. Wade, *Post-Primary Education in the Primary Schools of Scotland*, University of London Press, 1939.

schools; but the power to charge fees can only be exercised where it is without prejudice to the adequate provision of free primary and secondary education in schools in which no fees are charged. Where education is free, there must also be provided, free of charge, books, stationery, mathematical instruments, and other necessary articles. Clause 48 made the appointment of Directors of Education obligatory and Part III of the Act laid down the conditions under which they are to hold office. Clause 78 empowered an education authority with the approval of the Secretary of State to make such provision for conducting or assisting the conduct of research as may appear to the authority to be desirable for the purpose of improving the education provided in its area. The Act of 1872 had imposed restrictions on the time during which religious instruction could be given. These are now abolished but, unlike the English Act of 1944, no specific form of religious instruction is prescribed. All education authorities must submit, to the Education Department schemes showing the methods they propose to adopt for promoting pupils from primary to secondary schools.

The Act also revises the conditions of superannuation for teachers. Each teacher is required to pay 5 per cent. of his salary towards superannuation and the education authority, governing body, or managers, are required to contribute an equal amount. The minimum national scales of salaries for teachers are abolished and the Act requires all education authorities to pay salaries in accordance with scales to be prescribed by regulations made by the Secretary of State. A National Joint Council had been set up before the outbreak of the last war to investigate the problem of teachers' salaries, but the beginning of hostilities postponed a decision. During the war, teachers were given a war bonus to enable them to meet the rising cost of living. The Advisory Council to the Education Department recommended in 1943 the substitution of standard national scales for the minimum national scales. The National Joint Council was reconstituted and now consisted of 24 representatives, half of them representing the authorities and half representing the Educational Institute of Scotland. In addition, six assessors were appointed. Lord Teviot was appointed as an impartial chairman. The Council met in December, 1944, and after a lengthy series of negotiations, the present Teviot Scales were adopted.

The Advisory Council on Education has recently issued three important reports: *Primary Education*, 1946, *Technical Education*, 1946, and *Secondary Education*, 1947.

The report on *Primary Education* emphasises 12 as the normal age for transfer from primary to secondary education. It pays much attention to the problems of school sites and school buildings. Most visitors to Scottish schools comment upon the barrack-like appearance of most of them, especially of those built before the First World War. Even some of the more recent buildings compare unfavourably as regards playground facilities and amenities with English schools of the same type and date. The report recognises that under present conditions, especially in the large towns, the existing barrack-type schools will have to be used for some years, but it recommends that they should be made internally as attractive as possible and the numbers on roll drastically reduced. As outside recreational activities are restricted in such schools, the interiors should be reconstructed to provide the maximum of amenities such as school halls, dining halls, and gymnasia.

Special emphasis was laid on the colour scheme of the interior. "As children are notoriously fond of bright colours, it seems reasonable that the colour schemes of classrooms should be so designed as to give them pleasure . . . we hope that no school interior will in future be painted in a dull muddy colour which is alleged to be 'restful,' or is guaranteed 'not to show the dirt.' " (P. 8.) It is important that during the whole period of primary education there should be continuous co-operation between home and school and to this end, the report suggests that to encourage a good relationship between the two, visits of parents to the schools should be welcomed and other devices should be tried. It is recommended that the enrolment of a primary school should never exceed 650 and that 400 to 500 could be regarded as a reasonable maximum.

The curriculum and methods of the primary school should be thought out afresh and should follow the child's natural line of development and his delight in all kinds of activity. The "bookish" tradition of Scottish education came in for criticism and the following paragraph is significant of the modern outlook. "It is still assumed in some quarters that those subjects confidently referred to as the 'Three R's' are the central core of education, and indeed all that is necessary for the great mass of children. The consideration we have given to this matter, and the evidence we have heard, lead us, however, not merely to question but to deny the validity of this assumption under present day conditions." (P. 21.) Instead of a curriculum revolving round the three R's, the report reviews the subjects of the primary school under the broad headings of

physical education, hand-work, and speech. It deprecates a pre-occupation with school "subjects" in the traditional sense. "A teacher who has realised how futile it is to attempt to teach young children according to a logical scheme will be equally aware that the idea of a school 'subject' is a logical device or abstraction. The giving of separate names to different skills and branches of knowledge and the making of clear dividing lines between them is attractive to the logical mind and is within limits a useful procedure; but it tends to obscure the unity of all knowledge and the infinite interrelation of things in the pattern of life." (P. 29.)

Chapter XI of the report contains many valuable suggestions on teaching method but the following chapter is unlike anything to be found in the English reports. It is concerned with the place and value of Scottish traditions in the school. Although Scotland has much in common with England, there has been in modern times a growing national feeling which is not "a movement of antagonism to England but a growing determination that Scotland should not be submerged, ignored or treated as a 'province' or a 'region.'" (P. 72.) The following are among the suggestions made in this chapter: the allotment of a definite weekly period in the higher classes of the primary school for the study of Scottish traditions and language; the production of anthologies of Scots verse and prose which should include modern works of good quality; the teaching of the best Scottish folk tunes; the tradition of using the fiddle as a means of instruction in Scottish songs and dances should be revived; the industries of the district should be reflected in the crafts of the school; all Scottish children should learn something of Gaelic life, legends, and traditions.

Circular 122, which accepts in principle the main suggestions of the report, welcomes the attention to Scottish traditions but doubts the value of allocating a set weekly period for their study and conveys a warning to over-zealous teachers that in Lowland schools where Gaelic is not spoken, the instruction in Gaelic life and traditions should not go beyond what can be readily related to the natural interest of children at the primary stage.

The report suggests the abolition of compulsory homework and its replacement by different forms of voluntary work, but the Circular indicates that the Education Department is not at present desirous of going as far as this and recommends that homework should be so regulated as to avoid over-pressure. It should not

only involve the reading of books but research projects making use of purposeful activity and observation out-of-doors.

The report also stresses the value of organised research into educational problems and commends the policy of the Scottish Council for Research in Education of providing the great body of Scottish teachers with brief and clearly stated summaries of the main conclusions of recent research work. "Scotland is indeed fortunate in possessing a Council for Research in Education broad enough in constitution and purpose to be a fit instrument for performing the functions we have in view. If up to now their activities . . . have been in a sense sporadic, they may with justification plead that they have been to work only under serious limitations of finance and personnel." (P. 113.) Hence, the report recommended that the Secretary of State and the education authorities should take full advantage of the powers given in the Act of 1945 to put the Research Council on a sound financial basis.¹ Circular 122 accepts this recommendation in principle and points out that the financial assistance asked for has now been provided through the Grant Regulations. The report on *Primary Education* is the most valuable official study yet made on the primary school and contains much of interest for English as well as Scottish teachers.

The report on *Secondary Education* emphasises three general principles. (1) Not only must every child receive a secondary education suited to his age, ability, and aptitude, but his education, whether academic or practical, must have equal importance in the eyes of the community and be provided for with equal care and generosity. (2) The good school must in its variety of types and range of ability reproduce something of the richness of a natural environment. (3) While the school should be large enough to allow of a fully varied curriculum, it should not be of such a size that the headmaster's personal influence is lost and he becomes a mere administrator. In the light of this principle, 600 is suggested as the maximum enrolment number for a secondary school.

The idea of the multilateral school is rejected. "We cannot recommend the setting up of huge multilateral schools on the American model, as favoured by the L.C.C., with 2000 or more pupils in each. The unity we seek is organic not merely administrative, and we do not believe it can be realised with such vast

¹ The University of London Press publishes works approved by the Scottish Council for Research in Education.

numbers merely by setting a collection of sub-schools of different kinds on a common campus and calling them one school." (P. 31.)

The English tripartite system of grammar, technical, and modern schools, is severely criticised. It has an obvious attraction of administrative tidiness, but there are decisive reasons against its adoption in Scotland. It is so unrelated to the Scottish system that its adoption would mean not a development but a revolution. "The whole scheme rests on an assumption which teacher and psychologist alike must challenge—that children of twelve sort themselves out neatly into three categories to which these three types of school correspond. . . . Status does not come with the attaching of a name or by a wave of the administrative wand, and the discussion to date has left the position of the modern school neither defined nor secure. Indeed, it seems clear to many that the modern school will in practice mean little more than what is left, once the grammar and technical types have been housed elsewhere, and that the scheme will end not in tripartite equality but in a dualism of academic and technical plus a permanently depressed element. . . . If education is much more than instruction, is in fact life and preparation for life, can it be wisdom thus to segregate the types from an early age? On the contrary, we hold that school becomes colourful, rich, and rewarding just as in proportion as the boy who reads Homer, the boy who makes wireless sets and the boy without marked aptitude for either are within its living unity a constant stimulus and supplement one to another." (P. 31.)

On the other hand, the existing Scottish organisation into Senior and Junior Secondary schools is regarded as unsatisfactory because it emphasises the academic tradition in Scottish education and so relegates the junior secondary school to an inferior position.

Hence the report recommends "That the name 'junior secondary school' be no longer used, as it has in fact conveyed a suggestion of inferiority." (P. 35.)

The solution recommended is that of the "omnibus" secondary school.¹ This type of school, however, differs from the multi-lateral school in both size and organisation. Speaking of pupils from 12 to 16, the report says, "Within this part of the school (what the Norwood Report called the 'Main School' as distinct from the VIth Form) we are satisfied that the omnibus principle

¹ The organisation of an existing "omnibus" school, the Kirkcaldy High School, is described by Dr. F. M. Earle in his book, *Reconstruction in the Secondary School*, University of London Press, 1944.

can operate without waste of staffing, provided the total school roll is about 800. This is a third more than we recommend as applicable to secondary schools . . . where we were specially concerned to ensure the personal influence of the headmaster on his pupils, but we feel that the concession is worth while, if it secures the advantage of the omnibus school." (P. 39.)

The discussion on examinations and certificates is most interesting, especially if read in conjunction with the English report of the Secondary School Examination Council, 1947. Speaking about external examinations, the Scottish report says, "We do not say that examinations are ruining secondary education in Scotland; but they are gravely distorting it and narrowing its vision." (P. 43.)

The report makes the following recommendations :

- (1) That there be no external examination for boys and girls leaving at 15.
- (2) That each pupil leaving school, either at 15 or without securing the School Certificate referred to in (3), be supplied with a record giving particulars of his work in the secondary school.
- (3) (a) That a School Certificate be instituted, to be taken at the end of the IVth Year of secondary school. (This involves two examinations a year, since junior secondary schools have two commencing dates)
(b) That this certificate be awarded on the results of internal examinations conducted by the teachers in each school and a process of standardisation carried out by the Scottish Education Department. (The method of standardising the results sent in by different schools is fully discussed in the report).
(c) That this School Certificate be not awarded on a group basis, but show the subjects included in the course and those in which a pass has been obtained.
- (4) That a Higher School Certificate, also on a subject basis, be instituted, to mark the completion of various types of VIth Form course.
- (5) That the external examination for the Higher School Certificate be conducted by the Scottish Education Department.
- (6) That on the institution of the School Certificate and the Higher School Certificate the award of the Senior Leaving Certificate be discontinued. (Pp. 52-3.)

The proposed School Certificate would be freed from any relation to university entrance requirements. "Experience on both sides of the Border has shown that the surest way to distort a School Certificate from its proper function is to peg it to university matriculation requirements." (P. 58.)

Chapters IX to XI are concerned with the Secondary Curriculum, Technical Education in the Secondary School, and Secondary Education in Rural and Highland Scotland respectively. The suggestions regarding the treatment of school studies and the place technical education should occupy in the secondary school, will repay study by English as well as Scottish teachers.

The chapter on the Inspectorate emphasises the rôle of the H.M.I.'s as consultants and collaborators, and although inspection must always remain one of the functions of the Department's officers, the report recommends that "the Inspectorate be renamed His Majesty's Educational Service, the members of the service to be known as His Majesty's Education Officers." (P. 140.) "And we may properly draw attention to two important respects in which the position of H.M. Inspectorate in Scotland differs from that in England and justifies a relatively larger staff:

- (1) In Scotland no share in the work of inspection is taken by officers of the education authorities.
- (2) In the conduct of the Higher School Certificate Examination and in the award of the School Certificate the Department and the Inspectorate will perform important and exacting duties that have no counterpart in the work of the Ministry of Education." (P. 141.)

In the earlier chapter on Scottish Education, reference was made to the slender endowments of the burgh schools and universities in their early days. By way of contrast, the 19th century was prolific in the number of bequests for educational purposes. The endowments of Dr. Andrew Bell have already received mention.

Two very important educational endowments are those known as the Dick and the Milne Bequests. The former was due to James Dick who in 1828 left a fortune of approximately £113,000 to be applied for the maintenance and assistance of the country parochial schoolmasters in the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray. The income derived from the bequest was devoted to the augmentation of the very meagre salaries of the country schoolmasters. The bequest was also intended to encourage the "literary elevation" of

the schoolmasters and in order to benefit from it, candidates were required to pass an examination of so severe a character that even university graduates of those days are said to have failed. Since 1890, university graduation has been accepted as evidence of sufficient scholarship to enable a teacher to benefit from the fund. The Education Act of 1872 made certain modifications in the distribution of the grants.

The other important endowment was the Milne Bequest. Dr. Milne, President of the Medical Board of Bombay, left a sum of about £50,000 in 1841 to be used in a way similar to the funds of the Dick Bequest. In this instance, however, the benefits were restricted to the county of Aberdeen. The arrangements of the original Trust Deed of Dr. Milne were superseded in 1888 by a scheme for using the income in the establishment of bursaries for pupils attending State-aided schools.

Several references have been made in this chapter to the Educational Institute of Scotland. The Institute was founded in 1847. Before this year, certain local associations of teachers had existed, *e.g.* at Aberdeen, 1838, and Glasgow, 1846, but as the first President of the Institute declared, "Scotland is the first country in the world that has a National Association of all her Teachers, resolved and determined to provide their country with the best system of education that they can devise." The Educational Institute of Scotland has been a professional association in the highest sense of the term. During the last hundred years, it not only strove to secure better conditions for Scottish teachers as regards salaries, tenure, and superannuation, but it accomplished important reforms in the schools themselves, maintained the tradition of "sound Learning," raised the status of the teaching profession in the estimation of the Scottish people, and encouraged educational experiment and research.

There is little space remaining to do more than present the barest outlines of university development after the Act of 1858. Demands for further reforms in the universities brought about the Royal Commission of 1876. As a result of the Commission's recommendations, the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889, was passed and it completely remodelled the constitution of the Scottish universities. In addition to enlarging the membership of the University Court and more closely defining its functions and those of the Senate, it brought into being a new body, the Universities Committee of the Privy Council, to which all new ordinances were to be referred.

Authority was given to affiliate University College, Dundee, with the University of St. Andrews. The Students' Representative Council, which had originated as a student movement, received official recognition. New courses of study were established at the universities, the degree of D.Litt. instituted, and a pension scheme for professors was put into force. In 1892, women were allowed to graduate.

A further Universities Act in 1922 made more modifications in the constitution of the universities and brought all members of the teaching staff under the Federated Superannuation Scheme in which nearly all the universities and university colleges of Great Britain participate.

The financial position of the universities was much improved during the latter years of the 19th century. Earlier in this chapter the allocation of £30,000 per annum from the Equivalent Grant was mentioned. Like the English universities, the Scottish universities also receive direct Treasury grants. Under the Act of 1889, the Treasury grant was £42,000, but this has grown to many times that amount and special non-recurrent grants for improving and extending buildings have been made.

One important legacy to the universities calls for mention. In 1901, Mr. Andrew Carnegie gave £2,000,000 to the Scottish universities for extending buildings, endowing chairs, and promoting research. The bequest brings in an annual income of more than £120,000 and by the terms of the founder's will, half of this amount is devoted to assisting students in the payment of their class fees. Dr. Morgan estimated that as many as 70 per cent of all the university students of Scotland obtain assistance from the Carnegie trustees.

Since the last war, the Scottish universities, like the English, have entered upon a period of expansion. The number of students has greatly increased, thereby throwing considerable strain on the available accommodation, and for the session 1946-47 it was estimated that the attendance was about 13,000.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The following bibliography is not intended to be exhaustive but gives a selection of books which the reader will find useful in providing a more detailed description of British schools and other educational institutions at different periods of their history. Official publications are not included in this list

A. ENGLISH SCHOOLS BEFORE 1660.

Leach, A. F., *The Schools of Medieval England*, Methuen, 1915.
English Schools at the Reformation, Constable, 1896.

These two books are a very valuable contribution to the history of English schools before the Reformation. Mr. Leach was an able historian who, during his period of office as Assistant-Commissioner of the Charity Commission, had access to most of the important documents dealing with the history of the endowed schools

Watson, Foster, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660*, C.U.P., 1908.

The Old Grammar Schools, C.U.P., 1916.

Specially useful for the Tudor and Stuart periods. They contain much detailed information about the life and curricula of the grammar schools. The latter contains a chapter dealing with the decline of the grammar schools

Watson, Foster, *The Beginning of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England*, Pitman, 1909.

The opening chapter is a useful introduction on the development of the grammar school curriculum in the 16th and 17th centuries. Subsequent chapters describe the introduction of the different studies, such as mathematics, history, and geography, etc.

Montmorency, J. E. G., de, *State Intervention in English Education*, C.U.P., 1902.

A much more comprehensive work than its title indicates. The claim to the continuity of elementary education after the Reformation should be noted. The period considered is up to 1833, and there are many useful references to education in other parts of the British Isles and the Empire.

Brown, J. H., *Elizabethan School Days*, Blackwell, 1933.

A very readable description of the Elizabethan grammar schools, their origin, life, and curriculum, the methods of instruction, punishments, games, and sports, etc. The author has drawn upon Leach and Foster Watson for much of his detail.

HISTORIES OF PARTICULAR SCHOOLS.

Histories of all the English public schools and most of the grammar schools have been published and the student is advised

to read one or more of these with the object of ascertaining how far the particular school fits in with the general line of development. The short list which follows is only a selection from the many histories which have been written and the student will find it useful to choose a school from his own district.

Leach, A. F., *Early Yorkshire Schools*. "The Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series":

Vol. xxvii, 1899. York, Beverley, Ripon.

Vol. xxxiii, 1903. Pontefract, Howden, Northallerton, Acaster, Rotherham, Giggleswick, Sedbergh.

A History of Winchester College, Duckworth, 1899.

Leach is writing about his old school and includes many personal reminiscences.

History of Warwick School, Constable, 1906.

The reader should also refer to Leach's histories of schools in the different volumes of the "Victoria History of the Counties of England."

Woodruff, C. E., *A History of Canterbury School*, Mitchell Hughes and Clark, 1908.

Maxwell Lyte, H. C., *A History of Eton College*, Macmillan, 1899.

Probably the most complete history of a school yet written.

Mumford, A. A., *The Manchester Grammar School*, Longmans, Green, 1919.

Price, A. C., *A History of the Leeds Grammar School*, R. Jackson, 1919.

B. ENGLISH SCHOOLS, 1660 TO 1902.

(1) Secondary Schools.

Parker, I., *Dissenting Academies in England*, C.U.P., 1914.

McLachlan, H., *English Education under the Test Acts*, Manchester University Press, 1931.

Mack, E. C., *Public Schools and British Opinion*, Columbia University Press, 1938 and 1941.

A most important work which should be read by all interested in the relation of the public schools to the national system.

Vol. I, 1780 to 1860. Vol II, Since 1860.

Butler, S., *Life and Letters of Dr. Samuel Butler*, 2 vols., J. Murray, 1896.

Archer, R. L., *Secondary Education in the Nineteenth Century*, C.U.P., 1921.

Includes an account of the development of the modern universities and pays special attention to Wales.

Stanley, A. P., *Life of Dr. Arnold*, J. Murray, 1904.

Findlay, J. J., *Arnold of Rugby*, C.U.P., 1897.

Fitch, Sir J., *Thomas and Matthew Arnold*, "Great Educators Series," W. Heinemann, 1905.

Parkin, G. R., *Life and Letters of Edward Thring*, Macmillan, 1900.

(2) Elementary Schools.

Gregory, A., *Robert Raikes*, Hodder and Stoughton, 1877.

Kendall, G., *Robert Raikes*, Nicholson and Watson, 1939.

Salmon, D., *The Practical Parts of Lancaster's Improvements and Bell's Experiment*, C.U.P., 1932.

Binns, H. B., *A Century of Education*, Dent, 1908.

An account of the work of the British and Foreign School Society.

Gregory, R., *Elementary Education*, National Society, 1905.

An account of the work of the National Society.

Holman, H., *English National Education*, Blackie, 1898.

A very useful account of the development of elementary education before 1897. It contains a sound appraisal of the results of the Revised Code.

Smith, F., *The Life and Work of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth*, J. Murray, 1923.

An interesting and well-written biography

Arnold, Matthew, *Reports on Elementary Schools*, H.M.S.O., 1910.

The criticism of the Revised Code and its results should be noted.

Craik, Sir H., *The State in Its Relation to Education*, Macmillan, 1914.

Contains a useful chapter on Scottish schools.

Holmes, E., *What Is and What Might Be*, Constable, 1911.

Smith, F., *A History of English Elementary Education*, University of London Press, 1931.

Valuable for its relation of educational progress to the social and industrial background.

Adamson, J. W., *English Education, 1760-1902*, C.U.P., 1930.

A detailed study of great value. Includes both elementary and secondary education.

Rusk, R. R., *A History of Infant Education*, University of London Press, 1933.

Raymont, T., *A History of the Education of Young Children*, Longmans, Green, 1937.

C. ENGLISH SCHOOLS AFTER 1902.

Lowndes, G. A. N., *The Silent Social Revolution*, O.U.P., reprint 1948.

Probably the best study of the development of English elementary, secondary, and technical education from 1895 to the period immediately preceding the Second World War.

Lester Smith, W. O., *To Whom Do Schools Belong?*, Blackwell, 1943.

A very able study of the English educational system, introducing the points at issue in current controversy.

Allen, B. M., *Sir Robert Morant*, Macmillan, 1934.

Dr. Allen presents very clearly the part played by Morant in shaping the Education Act of 1902 and the new policy towards education which he developed.

Ward, H., *The Educational System of England and Wales*, C.U.P., 1939.

A concise but interesting description of the different educational institutions immediately preceding the Second World War.

Norwood, C., *The English Tradition of Education*, J. Murray, 1929.

Woods, A., *Educational Experiments in England*, Methuen, 1920.

McMillan, Margaret, *The Nursery School*, Dent, 1930.

Earle, F. M., *Reconstruction in the Secondary School*, University of London Press, 1944.

A detailed description of the organisation of a multilateral school.

Anon., *Sanderson of Oundle*, Chatto and Windus, 1924.

An account of Sanderson's achievements compiled by members of his staff.

There are many recent books which discuss the problem of the public schools. The following selection presents different points of view.

Badger, A. B., *The Public Schools and the Nation*, Robert Hale, 1944.

Hughes, D., *The Public Schools and the Future*, C.U.P., 1942.

Partridge, E. H., *Freedom in Education*, Faber and Faber, 1943.

Wolfenden J. F., *The Public Schools To-day*, University of London Press, 1948. (In proof. Published at end of year.)

Leeson, Spencer, *The Public Schools Question*, Longmans, Green, 1948.

Worsley, T. C., *Barbarians and Philistines*, Robert Hale [1940].

The last is a severe criticism of the public school system. Spencer Leeson develops the view of the Fleming Report, while the remainder in varying ways evaluate the contribution made by the public schools.

D. SCOTTISH EDUCATION.

Edgar, J., *History of Early Scottish Education*, J. Thin, 1893.

Grant, J., *History of Burgh and Parish Schools in Scotland*, W. Collins, 1876.

The standard work on the Scottish schools before the Act of 1872.

Morgan, A., *Rise and Progress of Scottish Education*, Oliver and Boyd, 1927.

Presents a clear and interesting account of the development of Scottish education, including the Act of 1918.

Morgan, A., *Makers of Scottish Education*, Longmans, Green, 1929.

Strong, J., *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland*, Clarendon Press, 1909.

Includes the Act of 1908.

Kerr, J., *Scottish Education, School and University*, C.U.P., 1910.

Belford, A. J., *Centenary Handbook of the Educational Institute of Scotland*, 1946.

Wade, N. A., *Post-primary Education in the Primary Schools of Scotland, 1872-1936*, University of London Press, 1939.

E. ADULT, TECHNICAL AND FORCES EDUCATION. THE UNIVERSITIES.

Hudson, J. W., *History of Adult Education*, Longmans, Brown, Green and Longman, 1851.

A detailed account of the growth of the early adult schools and the Mechanics' Institutes.

Mansbridge, A., *An Adventure in Working-Class Education*, Longmans, Green, 1920.

An account of the origin and early development of the W.E.A.

Parry, R. St. John (editor), *Cambridge Essays on Adult Education*, C.U.P., 1920.

Peers, R., *Adult Education in Practice*, Macmillan, 1934.

Turner, D. M., *History of Science Teaching in England*, Chapman and Hall, 1927.

Millis, C. T., *Technical Education, Its Development and Aims*, Edward Arnold, 1925.

Richardson, W. A., *The Technical College*, O.U.P., 1939.

Hawkins, T. H., and Brimble, L. J. F., *Adult Education. The Record of the British Army*, Macmillan, 1947.

Rashdall, H., *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, O.U.P., 1936.

The standard work on the mediaeval universities. Dr. Rashdall's theory of the origin of Oxford University is not universally accepted.

Rait, R. S., *Life in the Mediaeval University*, C.U.P., 1912.

Mansbridge, A., *The Older Universities of England—Oxford and Cambridge*, Longmans, Green, 1923.

This is a very useful account of the history of the older universities, and it is well illustrated.

Childs, W. M., *Making a University*, Dent, 1933.

Löwe, A., *The University in Transformation*, Sheldon Press, 1940.

Truscot, B., *Redbrick University*, Faber, 1943.

Roberts, S. C., *British Universities*, Collins, 1947.

F. GENERAL HISTORIES OF EDUCATION.

Adamson, J. W., *A Short History of Education*, C.U.P., 1919.

Kandel, I. L., *History of Secondary Education*, G. Harrap [1931].

A general history of secondary education in the U.S.A. and Europe with special chapters dealing with England.

Wodehouse, Helen, *A Survey of the History of Education*, Edward Arnold, 1929.

Birchenough, C., *History of Elementary Education in England and Wales*, University Tutorial Press, 1938.

Barnard, H. C., *A Short History of English Education, 1760-1944*, University of London Press, 1947.

INDEX

ABELARD, 348
 Academies, Nonconformist, 55-7
 — Scottish, 218
 — Sir Humphrey Gilbert's, 51
 Acts of Parliament, quoted or referred to.
 England and Wales—
 Board of Education, 185
 Children's (1948), 296-7
 City Parochial Charities (1883), 317
 Education, (1870) 163-70, (1876) 170, (1880) 171, (1902) 189-94, (1918) 245-9, (1936) 257-8, (1944) 274-87, 314
 Education (Administrative Provisions, 1907), 239-40
 Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic Children), (1899) 179, (1914) 248, (Provision of Meals) 239
 Endowed Schools, 91
 Factory (1843), 136-7
 Grammar Schools (1840), 61
 Oxford and Cambridge, 361, 369
 Public Schools (1868), 79
 Teachers' Superannuation, (1898) 251, (1918) 251, (1925 and 1937) 251
 Technical Instruction (1889), 318
 Uniformity, 44, 55
 University of London, (1898) 364, (1926) 364
 Welsh Intermediate (1889), 100-1
 Scotland—
 (1496) 200-1, (1633) 211, (1696) 211, (1803) 212-14, (1838) 215, (1858) 233-4, (1861) 216, (1872) 230, 371-4, (1889) 392, (1908) 378-9, (1918) 379-82, (1922) 393, (1936) 384, (1945) 384-5
 Local Government (Scotland) (1929), 384
 Teachers' Superannuation, 378, 385
 Adult education, 300-14
 Advisory Councils (Ministry of Education), 275, (Scotland) 382, 385
 Age, school-leaving, (England) 142, 164, 170, 171, 247, 257, 282, (Scotland) 224, 372, 376, 378, 381
 Agreed Syllabus, 258, 281-2
 Air Training Corps, 295
 Alcuin of York, 20
 Alexander of Villa Dei, 21
 Anderson, John, 301-2

Arabic, 33
 Arithmetic, 33-7, 151
 Army Bureau of Current Affairs, 336-8
 — Certificates of Education, 326
 — colleges, 340, 342
 — education in, 322-32, 333-43
 Arnold, Matthew, 80, 145, 154-7
 — Thomas, 71-5
 Arts Council of Great Britain, 312
 Ascham, Roger, 32
 Augustine of Canterbury, 2
 — Hippo, 3

BACON, Francis, 53
 Baden-Powell, Lord, 293
 Baines, Edward, 137
 Balfour, A. J., 192, 194
 Battersea Training College, 131-2
 Beale, Miss D., 94
 Bell, Andrew, 116-17, 218, 235, 391
 Bentham, Jeremy, 68
 Bequests, (Dick) 391, (Milne) 392
 Birkbeck College, 303, 364
 — Dr., 301-2, 362
 Birmingham Education League, 161, 165, 169
 Bloomsbury, 364
 Board of Education, 185, 236-7, 241, (Scotland) 371
 — Trade, 314
 — Schools, (England) 169-70, 174-5, (Scotland) 372, 374
 Borough Road, (College) 127, (School) 117, 127
 Boy Scouts, 244, 293
 Brinsley, John, 31-2, 33-6, 41
 British Broadcasting Corporation, 311-12
 — and Foreign School Society, 118, 126, 127, 138, 142
 Brougham, Lord, 120, 122-5, 127, 303, 362
 Bullying and fagging, 62-3
 Burnham Scales, 249-51, 285, 289-90
 Busby, Dr., 47, 63
 Buss, Miss F. M., 94
 Butler, R. A., 274
 — Dr., 65-6
 — Samuel, 62

CADET Corps, 295
 Cambridgeshire Village Colleges, 310
 Camps, school, 248, 381
 Caput, 361

- Carnegie, Andrew, 310, 393
 Catholic Poor School Committee, 138
 Central Technical College, 317, 319
Challenge of Youth, 294
 Charity Commission, 90, 92-3, 100, 101, 123, 290
 Chartism, 304
 Chaucer, 6-7
 Child Labour, 110, 119, 136
 Church of England, (control of education) 37-8, 43-4, 55, (religious disputes) 117, 118, 127-8, 133-5, 136-7, 138-9, 169, 192, 194, (building of schools) 169-70, (schools under 1944 Acts) 279-80
 Churchill, Winston, 273, 333
 City and Guilds of London Institute, 317, 319
 Clifford, Dr. J., 192, 194, 195, 241
 Clubs, youth, 293-4
 Cockerton Judgment, 188-9
 Coleg Harlech, 307, 338
 Colet, Dean, 24, 30-1
 Comenius, 53, 54
 Commissions, Royal:
 England—
 1 Bryce, 180-4 ✓
 2 Clarendon, 76-9 ✓
 3 Cross, 171-4 ✓
 4 Devonshire, 316 ✓
 5 Newcastle, 141-5, 326-7, 344 ✓
 6 Taunton, 80-91, 228-9 ✓
 7 Technical Instruction, 97, 318 ✓
 Scotland—
 Argyle, 222-6
 Balfour, 221
 Colebrooke, 221
 Universities, (1826) 233, (1876) 392
 Committee of Privy Council on Education, 127-8, 135, 137-8, 140-1, 145, 215, 222
 Common Entrance Examination, 290
 Community Centres, 310
 Compulsory School Attendance, 164, 170, 171, 372
 Consultative Committee, 185
 Corps of Army Schoolmasters, 324, 328
 County Colleges, 282-3
 County Councils, 188-9, 319
 Cowper Temple Clause, 166, 186, 191
 Craik, Sir Henry, 374-7
 Curriculum:
 Charity schools, 107, 109
 Elementary schools, 120, 151, 156, 159, 175-6, 196, 241, 255
 Girls' schools, 89
 Grammar schools, 20-2, 25, 30-8, 51, 52, 59, 83, 88-9
 Nonconformist academies, 56-7
 Primary schools, 386-8
 Curriculum:
 Public schools, 62, 70, 72-3, 77-8, 104, 268-70
 Secondary schools, 237, 263, 379
 Sunday schools, 112, 114
 DARWIN, Charles, 66, 146
 Davies, Miss Emily, 94
 Day School Certificates, 383
 — Training Colleges, 173
 Degrees, 352, 358-60, 361, (external) 364, 367, (for women) 95, (Scottish) 231, 234
 Denison, Archdeacon, 128, 135, 138
 Development plans, 278
 Dickens, Charles, 86, 131
 Director of Education, 277-8, 382, 385
 Divisional executives, 276-7
 Donatus, 17, 21
 "Dotheboys Hall," 86, 131
 Douai, 45, 66-7
 Dual System, 169-70, 190-1, 193, 257, 278
 Duke of York (Frederick), 322-3
 ECONOMICS, London School of, 364
Edinburgh Review, 68, 76, 360
 Education (Scotland) Fund, 378-9
 Educational Institute of Scotland, 374, 377, 382, 383, 392
Educational Reconstruction (White Paper), 274
 "Eleven plus," 256, 261-2, 264-5, 286
 Emergency Training Colleges, 286
 Endowments, 17, 26, 28, 29, 52, 53, (Scotland) 219, 221, 235, 393
 Evacuation, 271-3
 Evening schools and classes, 153, 172, 174, 319-20
 Examinations:
 Elementary schools, 150-2, 256
 Secondary schools, (entrance) 240, 254-5, 257, (leaving) 258-61, 298-9, (Scotland) 375-6, 383, 390-1
 University, 234, 352, 356, 358-9
 Extension, University, 304-6, 365
 FEES, (elementary schools) 164, 171, 248, (secondary schools) 9-10, 283, 292, (Scotland) 205, 209, 212, 232, 375, 384-5
 Fellenburg, 120, 132
 Fisher, H. A. L., 245
 Fitch, Sir Joshua, 80, 154, 161, 180
 Flogging, 41-2, 63-4, 66, 213
 Forster, W. E., 160, 163-6
 Free Grammar School, meaning of, 8-9
 Free-places, 18, 240, 257
 Froebel, 243

- GAMES, 38-9, 177-8 239, 284
 Geddes Ave, 246, 251, 382
 Gibbon, Edward, 357
 Girl Guides, 244, 293
 Girls and women, education of,
 (school) 22, 50, 89, 92-5, (univer-
 sity) 94-5
 Girls' Public Day School Trust, 94
 Gladstone, W E, 128, 166
 Gleig, Rev R C, 323-4
 Gloucester Grammar School Case,
 15-16
 Gorst, Sir John, 186-7
 Governesses, 93-5
 Graham, Sir James, 136-7
 Grants, Government, for education:
 adult education, 308-9
 elementary schools, 126, 127, 135,
 138, 144-5, 146, 148, 149-50, 153,
 159, 186, 191, 249, 257
 health services, 239
 secondary schools, 239, 240
 science and technology, 314, 315-16,
 318
 training colleges and universities,
 368-9
 (Scotland) 215, 371-3, 375, 378-9, 393
 Great Disruption, 215-6
 — Exhibition, 314
 Greek, 24, 25, 26, 33, 204
 "Green Book," 274
 Gregory the Great, 3
 Gresham, Sir Thomas, 361
 Guthrie, Rev. Thomas, 215
- HALDANE, Lord, 294
 Halls of residence, university, 367
 Hamilton, Sir William, 360
 Harcourt, Vernon, 165-6
 Headmasters' Conference, 104
 Heath, George, 63
 Hebrew, 25, 33
 Heriot Hospital, 220-1
 Heriot-Watt College, 221
 Heritors, 211, 212, 213, 372
 Heuristic method, 176
 Higher School Certificate, 259-60,
 298-9, (Scotland) 390-1
 Hill, T. W., 70-1
 Hogg, Quintin, 317
 Holidays, 42, 62, 208
 Holmes, Edmund, 240-1
 Home and Colonial Infant School
 Society, 120
 Homerton Training College, 137
 Hook, Dr. W. F., 118, 139
 Horn Book, 48
 Humanism, 24-5, 203-4
 Hume, Joseph, 125, 126, 362
 Hutcheson Hospital, 220
 Huxley, Thomas, 167, 316
- IDEA of a University*, 361
 Imperial College of Science and
 Technology, 319
 Industrial Revolution, 58-9
 Injunctions of Elizabeth, 37-8, 43
 Iona, 2, 198
 Inspectors, 135-6, 152-9, 172, 391
 Institute of Christian Education, 282
- JAMES, Dr., 61, 65
 Jesuits, 57
 Joint Examining Boards, 287-9
 Jones, Rev. Griffith, 115
- KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, Sir James,
 123, 128-39, 153, 157-8, 197
 Keate, Dr., 63-4, 65
 Kekewich, Sir George, 173, 186, 192
 Kennedy, B. H., 8
 King George's Jubilee Trust, 294
 Kingsley, Charles, 304
 Knox, John, 205-7
 — Vicesimus, 69, 358-9
- LABOUR Colleges, 307
 — Party and education, 102, 194, 252
 Lancaster, Joseph, 116-18
 Latin grammar, 4, 21-2, 32, (Lily's)
 30-1
 — schools, 4
 Laud, Archbishop, 221, 356
 Leeds Grammar School Case, 59-61
 — L.E.A., (School Board) 167-8,
 177-8, (L.E.A.) 244, 248-9, 280
 Lefroy, Sir John, 325-6
 Libraries, 178
 Licence to teach, 14-16, 55, 200
 Lingen, Lord, 139, 145, 148
 Livingstone, Sir Richard, 313
 Lloyd George, David, 192, 194, 241
 Local Education Authorities (and 1902
 Act) 189-90, (and 1918 Act)
 245-8, (and 1944 Act) 276-8, (and
 youth service) 294, (Scotland)
 380-2, 384
 — Government Act (1888), 318,
 (Scotland, 1929) 384
 Locke, John, 54-5
 Logic, 22
 London City Companies, 316-17
 — County Council, 251-2, 318
 — School Board, 167, 175, 176, 178,
 188
 Lovett, William, 304
 Lowe, Robert, 145-54, 163
- MACAULAY, T. B., 323
 — Z, 120
 Major, John, 201

Management Clauses, 138-9
 Managers and governors, school, 78,
 81, 90, 138, 149, 190-1, 278-9, 280
 Manchester Education Aid Society,
 160
 — Statistical Society, 129-30
 Mansbridge, Albert, 307-8
 Mason, Charlotte, 95
 — Josiah, 367
 Mathematics, 52, 56, 59, 60, 61, 62,
 70, 85, 88, 217, 218, 230, 234,
 237, 317, 340, 346, 357, 360, 372
 Maurice, F D, 93-4, 304
 McKenna, Reginald, 195
 McMillan, Rachel and Margaret, 243
 Meals, school, 239, 284
 Mechanics' Institutes, 301-3
 Medical service, school, 179, 239-40,
 249, 284, 378
 Melville, Andrew, 204, 210
 Mental defectives, 179, 248-9, 277, 378
 Merit Certificate, 376
 Military drill, 176
 Milton, John, 54
 Minister of Education, 275
 Monitorial System, 116-18, 123, 130-1,
 218, 323
 Montessori, Mme, 243
 More, Hannah and Martha, 113-14
 Morant, Sir Robert, 187-9, 192, 236-41,
 308
 Mothers' Union, 311
 Mulcaster, Richard, 49-50
 Mundella, Mr, 171

NATIONAL Certificates, 320
 — Fitness Council, 294
 — Society, 118, 124, 126, 130, 132,
 134, 135, 136, 138, 140, 169-70
 — Union of Teachers, 181, 185, 241
 — Youth Advisory Council, 295
 — Committee, 294
 New College, Oxford, 19
 Newman, Sir George, 239
 — J. H., Cardinal, 360-1
 Normal School of Design, 314
 Norwood, poor law school, 130-1

OFFICERS' Training Corps, 294-5
 Owen, Robert, 119-20, 304
 Owens College, 365-6
 Oxford Movement, 134-5, 360-1
 — and Cambridge Local Examina-
 tions, 147

PAKINGTON, Sir John, 141
 Parents' National Educational Union,
 95

Part II and III Authorities, 189-90,
 193, 245, 276
 "Part-timers," 137, 247
 "Pauperes et indigentes," meaning of,
 11-13
 Payment by Results, 145-59, 172,
 (Scotland) 216, 374
 People's High Schools (Denmark), 313
 Pestalozzi, 71, 132
 Physical education, 176-7
 Play centres, 245
 Polytechnics, 317-18
 Pounds, John, 122
 Preceptors, College of, 147
 Presbytery, 208, 209, 211, 213, 216
 Pre-Service organisations, 295
 Professorships, university, 231, 232,
 356, 358, 359, (of education) 235
 Pupil teachers, 130, 131, 137-8, 153,
 155, 173-4, 242

QUADRIVIVIUM, 20

Quarterly Journal of Education, 69, 126

RAIKES, Robert, 110-13, 117
 Rate aid for education, 144, 160, 164,
 165, 168, 170, 171, 184, 188, 189,
 191, 194, 239, 249, 372
 Recorde, Robert, 36-7
 Reform Acts, (1832) 125, (1867) 148
 Reformation, (England) 26-8, 353,
 (Scotland) 205
 Regent, 210, 217, 230-1
 Register, teachers', 185, 240
 Registration of boys and girls, 294
 Religious instruction, 37-8, 39, 44, 75,
 107, 117, 124, 134, 136, 164-6,
 167, 191, 192, 205-14, 281-2, 371,
 381, 385
 Renaissance, 24-5, 203-4
 Reports (other than Royal Commis-
 sions):
 England—
 School Returns (1870), 161-3
 Hadow Reports—
 Education of the Adolescent
 (1926), 252-6, 263, 286
 Primary School (1931), 256
 Infant and Nursery School
 (1933), 256
 Secondary Schools Examination
 Council, (1917) 258-9, (1947)
 298-9
 Spens (1938), 238, 259-60, 261-3
 Norwood (1941), 260-1, 263-6
 McNair (1944), 287-9, 295-6
 Fleming (1944), 14, 290, 292-3
 Percy (1945), 321
 Curtiss (1946), 296-7

Reports (other than Royal Commissions):

Scotland—

Primary Education (1946), 385, 386-8

Technical Education (1946), 385

Secondary Education (1947), 385, 388-91

Reserved teachers, 258, 279

Residential colleges for adults, 306, 312-14

Revised Code, 145-59, 216, 225, (Scotland) 216

Roebuck, J. A., 125, 126, 127

Royal Air Force, education in, 332-3, 345-6

— Army Educational Corps, 333-5, 337-42

— College of Art, 315

— — Science, 315, 319

— Navy, education in, 343-5

— School of Mines, 315, 319

— Society of Teachers, 185

Ruskin College, 306-7

— John, 304

SADLER, Sir Michael, 184, 187, 239

St. Columba, 198

— Nunian, 197

— Thomas Aquinas, 352

Sanderson, F. W., 266-70

Sandon, Lord, 170

School Attendance Committees, 171, 189

— Bank, 244

— Boards (England and Wales), 164-8, 175, 176, 178-9, 189-90, (Scotland) 372, 374, 378, 379-80

— buildings, 174-5

— Certificate Examination, 258-61, 299, (Scotland) 390-1

— Leaving Certificate, 375-6, 379, 390

— types of:

Aided, 278

Burgh, 204, 209, 217-19, 221, 223-5, 228-9

Central, 242-3, 253-4

Chantry, 6, 18

Charity, 106-8, (Scotland) 214-15

Circulating, 115, 300

Controlled, 279

County, 278

Dame, 108-9, 143

Day Continuation, 247-8, 251-2, 294, 378, 381

Direct Grant, 104, 283-4, 292

Elementary, 17, 45-9, 50, 191, 238-9, 241-2, 247, 253

Endowed, 17-18, 29, 80-5

Girls', 22, 84, 89, 93-4, 100-101

School, types of:

Grammar, 5, 8-14, 17-18, 206, 26-30, 39-43, 51, 53, 55, 58, 59-61, 68, 74

199, 261-4, 286, 389

Guild, 5

Higher Grade, 95-8, 167, 172, 180,

184, 188-9, 379

Independent, 284

Industry, 109-10, 114

Infants, 119, 120, 243, 256, 325

Junior Technical, 243

Modern, 253-6, 261-2, 264, 266, 286, 389

Monastery, 5, 199

Monitorial, 73, 116-18, 123, 130-1

Multilateral, 261-2, 265-6, 388-9

Nonconformist, 55-7, 70

Non-provided, 190-1

Nursery, 243, 248, 256, 277

Omnibus, 389-90

Organised science, 315-16

Parochial (Scotland), 196-7, 205, 209, 211-17

People's High (Denmark), 313

Preparatory, 290

Primary, 7-8, 45-9, 252, 253, 256, 263, 277, 386-8

Private, 57, 85, 100, 108, 129-30, 143-4, 161-3, 222-3, 225-7, 249, 284

Proprietary, 85-6, 100, 181

Provided, 190-1

Public, 20, 52, 57, 61-5, 68-9, 75-9, 102-5, 266-7, 290-2

Ragged, 122, 215

Reading and writing, 6

Roman Catholic, 44-5, 57, 66-7

Secondary, 86-9, 93-4, 98, 99, 101, 102, 180-3, 189, 191, 193-4, 236-8,

252, 253-6, 258-66, 277, 280, 283, 286-7, 372-4, 380, 383, 388-90

Services, (Army) 322-3, 324-5, (Royal Air Force) 346

Song, 3, 6, 199-200

Special, 248-9

Special Agreement, 257-8, 278

Spinning, 214

Sunday, 110-15, 300

Technical High, 262-3, 264, 265, 286, 389

Trade, 243

Vernacular, 4

Voluntary, 190, 278-80, 372, 381-2

Schools:

England—

Ackworth, 86

Ampleforth College, 67

Ardingley, 75

Barnsley, 9

Beverley, 14-15

Birmingham (Edward VI), 27

Schools:

England—

- Bootham, 86
 Bradfield College, 86
 Bradford—
 Boys' Grammar, 10, 40, 49, 85,
 92, 283
 Girls' Grammar, 92-3
 Thornton Grammar, 9
 Charterhouse, 53, 68, 73, 76, 79
 Cheltenham College, 75, 86
 Cheltenham Ladies' College, 94
 Christ's Hospital, 27, 51-2, 63,
 220, 291
 Douai, 45, 66-7
 Duke of York's, 323-4
 Dulwich College, 267
 Easingwold, 82
 Epsom College, 75, 86
 Eton College, 11, 19-20, 25, 42, 63,
 64, 65, 68, 73, 75, 76, 102, 222
 Giggleswick, 10, 85, 291-2
 Gloucester, 15-16
 Guildford, 9
 Gusborough, 9
 Halifax, Heath Grammar, 9
 Harrow, 10, 37, 39, 64, 65, 76, 273
 Hazelwood, 70-1
 Hipperholme, 9
 Horncastle, 28
 Hurstpierpoint College, 75
 Ilkley Grammar, 9
 Keighley Grammar, 9
 King's College School, 75
 — School, Canterbury, 2, 16-17,
 104
 Lancing College, 75
 Leeds Grammar, 10, 17-18, 29, 40,
 59-61, 69, 83, 84, 85, 92, 283
 Girls' High School, 93, 283
 Higher Grade, 97, 98
 Lawnswood High, 303
 Modern (Boys'), 86, 303
 Parish Church, 96
 Macclesfield, 61
 Manchester Grammar, 10, 39, 41,
 117
 Marlborough College, 75, 86
 Merchant Taylors', 5, 39, 49, 76
 Mill Hill, 70
 Newcastle Grammar, 37
 Northallerton, 6
 North London Collegiate, 94
 Oakham, 102, 103
 Otley Grammar, 29, 40, 42
 Oundle, 40, 266-70, 291
 Perse School, Cambridge, 291
 Rendcombe, 291
 Repton, 104
 Rishworth, 84
 Rossall, 75

Schools:

England—

- Rotherham, 6, 85
 Rugby, 10, 61, 64, 65, 71-5, 76
 St Paul's, 24, 39, 49, 73, 76
 Sedburgh, 10, 27, 85
 Shrewsbury, 39, 40, 62, 65-6, 76
 Silcoates, 86
 Skipton Grammar, 18, 40
 Stonyhurst College, 67, 86
 Stratford-on-Avon, 5
 Tadcaster Grammar, 9
 Tonbridge, 104
 University College School, 75
 Uppingham, 102-5
 Wakefield Grammar, 10, 28, 33,
 37, 39-40, 42, 48, 85, 283
 Warwick, 17
 Wellington College, 75
 Westminster, 33, 54, 63, 73, 76
 Winchester College, 11, 19, 25,
 42, 64, 68, 73, 76, 116, 222

York—

- Archbishop Holgate's, 9, 25,
 85, 283
 St. Peter's, 2, 6, 81, 85

Wales—

- Denbigh, 99, 100
 Dolgelly, 100
 Llandaff, 99
 Llandovery, 99
 Oswestry, 98, 99

Scotland—

- Aberdeen, 204, 223, 226
 Ayr, 218
 Banff, 226
 Dollar Academy, 218, 373
 Dundee, 219
 Edinburgh—
 Edinburgh Institution, 223
 John Watson's, 226-7
 Royal High School, 208, 217,
 219, 221, 232, 373
 Fettes College, 373, 375
 Glasgow, 217, 373
 Kirkcudbright, 232
 Loretto, 223, 373
 Merchiston, 373
 Montrose, 204
 Peebles, 217
 Perth, 218
 St. Andrews Madras, 218
 Science, 56, 66, 78, 79, 84, 89, 96-7,
 218, 234, 236-7, 255, 267-70,
 314-16, 346, 359
 — and Art Department, 96, 314-16
 Scottish Education Department, 371,
 374, 377, 380-1
 Secondary Schools Examination
 Council, 258, 298
 Secularists, 139-40

Settlements, educational, 313
 Seven Liberal Arts, 20-1
 Seventh standard, 96
 Smith, Sidney, 68
 Society for Promoting Christian
 Knowledge, 106-8, 300,
 (Scotland) 214-15
 — — the Diffusion of Useful Know-
 ledge, 125
 Special places, 257
 Spencer, Herbert, 316
 Stanbridge, John, 30
 State scholarships, 261
 Stow, David, 121
 Strachy, Lytton, 71
 Strong, J., Dr., 207, 216, 219, 381
 Struthers, Sir John, 377-8, 382
 Stuart, James, 304-5
Suggestions for Teachers, 241-2
 Swimming, 177

TAWNEY, R. H., 308
 Teachers' Registration Council, 185
 Technical Education, 314-21
 Teviot Scales, 385
 Thring, Edward, 102-5
 Townswomen's guilds, 311
 Toynbee, Arnold, 306
 Training colleges, 107, 121, 125, 127,
 128, 131-3, 191, 193, 287-9, 377,
 381, 383
 Trimmer, Sarah, 114, 117
 Triposes, 359-60, 369
 Trivium, 20

UNIVERSITIES:
 Aberdeen, 202-3, 210, 230, 232
 Birmingham, 367
 Bologna, 201, 347, 348
 Bristol, 367
 Cambridge, 19, 27, 201, 305, 348,
 349-61, 369
 Durham, 364-5
 Edinburgh, 203, 210, 231, 232, 233,
 234
 Glasgow, 202, 209, 231, 232, 233,
 234, 301
 Leeds, 306, 367, 368
 Liverpool, 366, 367
 London, 362-4, 367
 Manchester, 366
 Nottingham, 367

Universities -
 Oxford, 19, 104, 201, 305, 308, 348,
 349-61, 369
 Paris, 201, 347-8, 349, 350
 Reading, 306, 320, 367, 368
 St. Andrews, 201-2, 210, 231-2
 Salerno, 347
 Sheffield, 367
 Victoria, 306, 366, 367
 Wales, 369-70
 University, meaning of term, 348-9
 — Colleges
 Aberystwyth, 369
 Exeter, 306, 367
 Hull, 367
 Lampeter, 369, 370
 Leicester, 367
 North Staffordshire, 367
 Southampton, 367
 — Grants Committee, 368, 393
 — Institutes of Education, 288-9

VOLUNTARYISTS, 137

WALES, education in, 98-101
 War and education, (1914-18) 243-5,
 (1939-45) 271-3
 Welsh Intermediate Act, 100-1
 Wesley, John, 112
Westminster Review, 68, 76
 "Whiskey Money," 318-19, 379
 Whitbread, Samuel, 118, 122
 Wilderspin, Samuel, 120
 William of Ockam, 350, 352
 — — Wykeham, 19, 351
 Wilson, Alexander, 121
 Women's Institutes, 311
 Wood, John, 121
 Woodard Schools, 75, 86
 Workers' Educational Association,
 307-10
 Working Men's College, 304

YEAXLEY, Dr., 329, 335
 Yorkshire College, Leeds, 306, 366
 Young Men's Christian Association,
 293, 311, 328-30
 — Women's Christian Association,
 293, 311
 Youth Leaders, 295-6
 — service, 293-6

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY UNIVERSITY TUTORIAL PRESS LTD., FOXTON, NEAR CAMBRIDGE

